

THE SCOTTISH REVIEW

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EDITOR - THE HON. R. ERSKINE OF MARR

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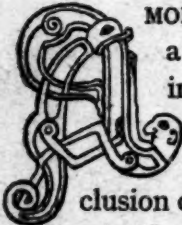
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SUMMER, 1917.

Scotland and the Peace Congress

 MONTH or two after the beginning of the war, a movement was set on foot in Irish circles in New York with a view to securing Irish representation at the International Congress which, it was foreseen, the conclusion of hostilities conducted on so great a scale would necessitate in the ordinary course of political events. At the same time the advanced Scottish Nationalists began to take thought among themselves with a view to the assertion of a similar claim as regards their own country. Such, in brief, is the story of the inception of the two movements which have for their common object the reassertion of the Sovereign rights of the ancient Kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland.

In the last impression of this *Review*, something was said touching International Congresses in general, which, so far as they concern Scotland in particular, have hitherto taken place without the presence of

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Scottish representatives thereat. The first of the great gatherings to which the epithet of "International" can be justly applied (that of Münster), was not attended by any representatives on the part of these Kingdoms. The following one, the Congress of Ryswick, held in 1697, though it was attended by England, yet was not characterised by the presence of any Scottish representatives. There would appear, however, to have been a strong feeling abroad in the Scotland of that time that this country should have sent her own representatives to that Congress, for there is a letter of Fletcher of Saltoun's extant, in which that able man and sound patriot states positively that Scotland was not represented on the occasion glanced at, a statement which, issuing from such a source, we are at liberty to construe as implying the existence of a belief on the writer's part that Scotland was entitled to be represented at that Congress, and did ill not to make good her right to admission to it. Of the great international gatherings, held previous to the pretended Act of Union, Ryswick was the last. The Peace and Treaty of Utrecht were concluded after that unparalleled act of usurpation had been "placed on the Statute Book," as the cant expression goes; so that at that, as at all subsequent assemblages of an international nature, Scotland bore no witness whatever, save as a silent spectator of the solemn sinking of her own sovereignty, national rights, and separate national identity in the persons and credentials of the representatives appointed by England, which zealously and rigorously enforced the terms of the pretended Union Treaty whenever it suited her interests to ob-

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serve them, and as lightly disregarded them whenever the contrary took place.

The Congress of Münster, at which these Kingdoms were not represented, was attended with a circumstance which renders it particularly interesting at the present conjuncture of affairs. On that occasion, the agents of the newly emancipated Kingdom of Portugal¹ strove to gain admission to the Congress, but being prevented from doing so by Spain, which threatened to withdraw her representatives if the Portugese were admitted, a compromise was effected by means of which the agents of the latter were suffered to appear in the train of the French representatives. This somewhat singular way of compounding national rights is interesting nowadays rather on account of the precedent which it sets up than by reason of its inherent reasonableness, or its positive value as a compromise. The right, on the occasion at which I glance, clearly lay with Portugal, which should have pressed it, as indeed the Congress as a whole should have done, even at the risk of disoblighing Spain.

Little fault, I imagine, can be found with the way in which the Scottish claims to representation at the next International gathering have been summarised in the following *pronunciamento*, or with the principles which underlie that statement. Even those who disapprove the designs of the Scottish Nationalists, and look but coldly on the fundamentals on which they are preparing to act, have been constrained, in

¹ The Portugese threw off the Spanish yoke in the year 1640. The Treaty of Westphalia, to which the Münster Congress gave rise, was signed in the year 1648.

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many cases, candidly to acknowledge that our position is a perfectly logical one, and, further, that considerations of policy and expediency alone are capable of providing them with any tolerable arguments in opposition to the Protest. The Act of Security is undoubtedly hard measure for these political casuists ; whilst the corrupt, arbitrary, and illegal means employed to bring about the pretended Union Treaty of 1707 are a sufficient rebuke to those who, professing Democrats nowadays, turn crusted Tories and hide-bound Centralists the moment they are required to give to the principles which they are pleased to affect a loose that is based upon a retrospective view of certain prominent facts in Scottish history. In conclusion of this head, I beg leave to point out to balancing opportunists of the kind at which I glance that time is no condoner of crimes, or compounder of national insults of the grievous nature of those committed against this Kingdom and people in the year 1707. The same time, which I have invoked, and the Congress to which we shall travel in due course, may safely be trusted to right those wrongs by publicly restoring Scotland to the comity of Sovereign Nations.

The following are the terms of the heads of the Protest which, in form of a diplomatic Note, will be presented on the occasion specified in these remarks :—

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS.

A Protest, in name and in behalf of National Scotland, is to be entered at the International Congress to be held after the War.

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The Protest will embrace the following heads:—

- (1) Protest against the exclusion of Scotland, which, notwithstanding any pretended Act to the contrary, is now, as she ever was, a Sovereign State, and, as such, has an indefeasible right to send her own representatives to any International Congress.
- (2) Protest against the pretended right of England to appear, and speak, in name, and in behalf, of Scotland at any International Congress.

In connection with the above, the following circular letter has been widely distributed in Scotland, in the United States of America, and in other countries in which it has been thought proper to adopt that course.

SIR,

I have the pleasure to enclose you a printed copy of the heads of the National Protest, to be presented in form of a Note at the International Congress that is to be held after the War.

The Protest-Heads are in strict conformity to the terms of the great Charter of Scottish National Rights and Liberties, the Act of Security.

Further, I desire to point out that the pretended Act of Union of 1707 was passed by means of "force and fraud" only; was bitterly resented and opposed by the Scottish Democracy; was a gross violation of the rights and liberties of the Scottish Nation and Parliament; and, from the point of view as well of equity as law, is null and void. The Scottish Nationalists are determined to reassert the Sovereign rights of Scotland in face of the whole world, as well as to make the Act of Security their foundation for future action designed to the reassembling of the Scottish Parliament, suspended or sunk, but by no means abolished or utterly cut off, by "force and fraud" in the year 1707.

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The Protest-Heads Committee (of which I have the honour to be Convener and Chairman), has been formed for the purpose of securing adherents to the Protest, and consists of the following members :—

Mr. J. R. DUNCAN (Hon. Secretary, Scottish Farm Servants' Union).

Mr. J. M. HOGGE, M.P.

Mr. ANGUS MACDONALD (President, Highland Land League).

AONGHAS MAC EANRUIG.

Mr. W. M. R. PRINGLE, M.P.

Councillor F. J. ROBERTSON (General Secy., International Scots Home Rule League).

Mr. ROBERT SMILLIE (President, Miners' Federation).

As soon as the Protest-Heads Committee has done its appointed work, it will be dissolved, and another and a larger (to be styled "The Grand National Committee") will be established in its room. This latter Committee will have charge of the negotiations proper to the Protest, and will appoint Representatives to carry the Note itself to the Congress.

Many thousands of persons have already adhered to the Protest.

Your obedient Servant,

R. ERSKINE OF MARR.

The Note itself will be composed in the French language, and will cover the historical ground from the accession of James VI. to the English throne down to modern times. Copies of the Note will be sent, for reasons which are too obvious to require particularising in these few brief observations, to all the leading Continental, Dominion, and American journals. The diplomatic language of Europe being still the French, it is desirable that, for the particular purpose of conforming to usage in such matters, as well as for general

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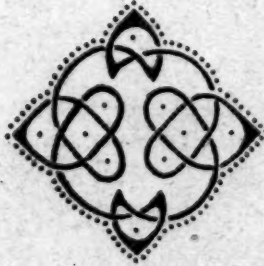
circulation purposes, the Note should be composed in that idiom. It is intended, however, that the Note shall first be made accessible to the people of Scotland through the channel of the two languages spoken in this country—Gaelic and English. Accordingly, the next impression of this *Review* will contain the full English text of the document to be presented to the International Congress, together with the names of the persons composing the Grand National Committee, besides other information likely to be of interest to the public, and designed to promote the ends we have in view.

The response to the Protest heretofore elicited has been most gratifying and encouraging in every way, the Democracy of the Kingdom, to whom, as to the class which particularly distinguished itself by reason of its opposition to the flouting of popular opinion in 1707, the Nationalist appeal has been, very properly, mainly addressed, having endorsed the principles laid down in the Protest in very large numbers and in a singularly hearty and zealous fashion. It is intended to continue to prosecute our campaign in the same exceedingly sympathetic and responsive quarters; and though, of course, nothing will be said or done to discourage those who, belonging to different stations in life, may, nevertheless, desire to make a stroke for the cause of Scotland a Sovereign Nation, yet nothing, on the other hand, shall prevent this movement, whose inception is strictly democratic, and which is essentially popular as well as regards method as aim, from continuing to bear and to deserve that character which events, no less than settled design, have conspired to

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impart to it. It was a cabal of nobles, aided and abetted by many of the upper and middling classes of Scotland, which, in 1707, helped to betray their country and sink its Constitution ; it were but fitting and proper, therefore, that the Community of the Realm, which then acted a very different part, should be, in 1917, the instrument of redressing that grievous wrong.

R. ERSKINE OF MARR.



The 'War against Autocracy'



o small part of what is styled the "philosophy of history" is necessarily concerned with the subject of the causes and consequences of wars. With regard to the former, even the most painstaking research, and the most exhaustive enquiries, have signally failed in many notable instances to discover these in a form plain and unquestionable enough to sanction their inclusion in any system of philosophical thought which aims at imparting exact knowledge. A further disability under which the philosophic historian labours consists in the fact that wars, like the chameleon, are subject to tinctural transformations of a most surprising, and even disconcerting, kind. The capital ends for which they are waged, or are alleged to be waged, are often the sport of such radical alterations in the course of military operations as to leave the last state of those wars so utterly unlike the first that it would require a party politician, and not a philosopher turned historian, to determine in what respect conflicts of the character at which we here glance are all of an ethical piece. A famous example of a war, which, begun on one ground, terminated on another with which its first principles are by no means to be reconciled, is that afforded by the War of the Spanish Succession. Like most wars, its professed ends were good, according to the notions of those that sanctioned, caused, and

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engaged in it. It was a war that was set on foot to prevent the "Prussianising" of Europe by Louis XIV.; but it should be observed that as soon as ever that war resulted in the bringing off the French King from those schemes of European aggrandisement and ascendancy which he is said to have entertained, that particular "fight for civilisation" took on an entirely new face. It degenerated, if it can be justly said ever to have really aimed at anything better, into a war of pure and simple aggression on the part of the Allies. The French were plainly given to understand that there could be no peace for them until they had de-"Prussianised" themselves by casting out Louis. The French, for their part, wisely disregarded this vain and impudent threat. They rallied round their ruler, renewed the conflict, and, finally, disappointed the aims, as effectually as they did the greed and silly expectations, of their designing enemies.

According to the German view of the matter, the war in which Christendom is presently engaged is, so far as they are concerned, one of self-defence. According to the Allies, on the other hand, the same war is a "fight for civilisation" against "the forces of barbarism." Thus, both these capital motives are respectable ones. Both, too, represent old cries in the blood-stained history of wars. Even a philosopher from heaven, like Plato, might find it difficult to determine which of the two motives we have named is the more respectable. As battle-cries they are, if not novel, at all events compelling. As to which party is in the right in respect to a matter in which

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both claim to be so, to the exclusion of the other, it is obvious that only posterity, in the shape of some philosophic historian of exceptional parts, and enjoying extraordinary opportunities of comparative research, can solve that problem. Meantime, sensible people will seek to solace and fortify themselves with the reflexion that, probably, neither party is as black as its opponent paints it.

We have already referred to the fact that wars, begun to be waged with a particular object in view, are very apt, in their course from rise to finish, to lose their balance, as it were, and to change the complexion of their capital objects. We cited the case of the war of the Spanish Succession as being a familiar illustration of the kind of phenomenon at which we glance. Moreover, we think that it will be found on reflexion that the existing struggle is no less susceptible of that particular interpretation which consideration of the other has moved us to place on it. The war has changed its objects, so far at all events as the Allies are concerned. It signalised its birth by crying lustily for "Belgium and the Little States." It has now degenerated, or developed, into a "War of Democracy against Autocracy." It is but proper to enquire how this remarkable change has been brought about. Let us preface our observations on this head with the remark that the causes of the change to which we refer are not far to seek, however remote from wisdom it may be to prognosticate touching the final consequences of it.

As long as the Allies were themselves associated with an Autocracy, it is plain that, so far as they were

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concerned, the war could not publicly take on that complexion which no doubt Lord Milner, Sir Edward Carson, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and other well-known foes to reaction, divined and intended that it should ultimately assume. It is equally plain that, when the Russian Revolution providentially broke out, the blazing star of those zealous democrats rose at once to the ascendant. "The Little Father," rendered still more diminutive and contemptible by reason of his inglorious toleration of the Rasputin *régime*, was bundled unceremoniously out of the way; the giant Muscovy snapped, as a man snaps a stick over his knee, the chains that had bound and confined him for centuries; and, to change the figure, the stage was set for the supreme act of the war.

In the system which we certainly inhabit, and possibly adorn, there is often visible a certain want of liveliness and vigour in respect of our pursuit of those moral objects which we have proposed to ourselves as being good ends in themselves, and are therefore meet and proper to be secured. However agreeable to the spirit perseverance in right-doing may be, to the flesh the unremitting pursuit of virtue is apt to incommode it, as though by a thorn. Under this odd humour, the nice justness of Aristides was suffered to languish; and though many are disposed to attribute the death of Socrates to the reaction produced by the doctrines of the Sophists, yet rather would it appear that the philosopher was cut off because he was too much given to asking pertinent questions in the market-places of Athens. The reward of virtue, so far from consisting in the possession of itself, as many ignorantly pretend,

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lies rather in the unpopularity which its profession, and ardent pursuit, is apt to draw down on those who succumb to its attractions in so unequivocal a fashion.

Thus, nothing is more difficult than to preserve a just proportion, and a good correspondence, between the moral ends we design and the means we employ to secure those ends. We look into our cup, and it is red with the wine of our visions at night; but, with the day, there comes that which somehow turns all that it holds to water. O, pity the frailty and the inconsequence of man! Yes, but while our bowels of compassion are being mightily stirred, one toward the other, hardly shall we refrain from raining down tears on the infinitely greater weakness of Governments. The large principles which such bodies are apt to loose, in their endeavours to secure support for themselves and credit for their measures, will be found, generally speaking, to recoil on both, if pursued with manifest ill success, in proportion to the importance and gravity of those principles.

Just as the successive seasons of the year bring about a variety of physical changes in respect of the face and complexion of nature, so would the moral aspect of war appear to be susceptible of alterations that take their rise from moral phenomena not less attributable to certain definite causes. Of these causes, undoubtedly one is man's tendency to tire of "a good thing," whether it be a saint, a philosopher, a cry, or a mere principle. We do not say that, in connection with the present war, the original principles on which it was affirmed to be based, so far as the Allies are concerned, have lost all that power of attraction which,

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no doubt, they originally possessed ; but, whilst we are prepared to admit thus much, we are no less ready to affirm that the motives to which we here more particularly refer are by no means as popular, and therefore as compelling, as they used to be. Belgium, which used to be in every one's mouth, is now scarce mentioned on a public platform ; whilst the cause of the " Little Nations," together with the long catalogue of international moralities with which that cause was loosely linked up in the public mind, has plainly greatly declined in popularity since the late fashion arose by virtue of which sceptical nations and peoples have had the front to adjure England to heal herself, before setting up as universal physician.

Probably, therefore, this new wind of a " War against Autocracy " that has blown upon the world in arms is not one on which the English administration and its friends are disposed to look as one incapable of wafting any positive good to themselves. In England, and, indeed, in these Kingdoms generally, the forces of production are now at a very low ebb. To help to carry on the war, it is plain that new cries and principles, as well as potatoes, censors, producers, and dictators of all kinds, are imperatively necessary. Plainly, too, the cry of a " War against Autocracy " is, regarded as a political lever, if we may be allowed the figure, not a little superior to some of the no less vociferous exhortations that have preceded it ; cries which, however well-meaning and academically sound, yet have this serious disadvantage attaching to them, that in the interests of " practical politics," no impartial application of the principles which they affirm and

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commend is to be thought of for a moment ; and, further, that their capacity of sustaining the public interest is not justly proportioned to their moral face-value, as this latter is attractively set out in the Blue Books.

The cry of a "War against Autocracy," however, is not only one which every one can understand, no matter how ignorant of history, or unlearned in what Metternich styled the "science" of politics, he may be ; but, plainly, it is also one in which all the elements of enduring popularity are to be found in great luxuriance and extraordinary profusion. Indeed, this particular cry seems to us to be the best one to which the war has yet given utterance. Whether regard be had to the principles on which it is based ; its comprehensive character ; the probable course of events ; the tendency of the age ; or the true ends of the conflict, we know no better, and venture to doubt if even the teeming womb of the Northcliffe Press can, or will, produce a superior. The only thing, however, is, will the Allies, as a whole, foot it sufficiently well, and indefatigably to the tune which they have called to render their performance, when they shall have finished it, all of a piece ? In other words, are they prepared for, and are they agreeable to witness, an impartial application of the principles to which they have now, individually and collectively, conformed ? Obviously, on the answer to this pregnant question much, nay more, even the future of Christendom itself, depends. Let us, therefore, here pause to take thought, to the end that, by so doing, we may discover for ourselves to what logical

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consequences this great cry or principle of a " War against Autocracy " must necessarily carry us, provided that the principles on which it is founded are allowed free exercise and an impartial application.

Now, it is one of the great fundamentals of Democracy that each Nation and State shall be allowed to manage its own affairs, and, in so doing, shall suffer no interruption or disturbance on the part of its neighbours. From this it follows that every nation has a right to determine the form of government under which it shall subsist, and shall not be penalised, harassed, or otherwise molested by its neighbours by reason of its exercise of that fundamental right. If, before the war, it would have been a crime against the principles of Democracy to attack the Russian State, for no other reason than that that State's then form of government was autocratic (a supposition on our part, the perfect justness of which no one, we venture to think, can have the front to dispute), it follows from thence that what was wrong before the war, that event has by no means sufficed now to render right. The logical conclusion to be drawn from the few simple premises which we have established would appear to be, then, that, consistently with democratic principle, you cannot raise a " War against Autocracy " if by so waging battle you design to " crush " some particular State which supports a rule of government to whose form, spirit, and genius, you may happen to be opposed.

But it may be objected by some, especially by such as have no manner of use for first principles, save to apply them against others in their own interests,

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that the case of the Central Powers supplies an obvious exception to the rule which we have endeavoured to establish above. These objectors hold that, whilst it is doubtless true that each and every democracy has the right to choose the form of government under which it shall subsist, yet, inasmuch as the particular case we have cited constitutes a standing menace to all Christendom, it follows from thence that it is not only the right, but the bounden duty, of the rest of the States of Europe to combine together against that erring democracy; to wage war against it with unrelenting severity; and to continue to chastise it until such times as, convinced of the folly and iniquity of its ways, it shall have purged itself of that particular form of government which is so pregnant a cause of offence, and so great a source of danger, to its more virtuous neighbours. This, they allege, is the true Democratic Faith, which, except a man believe, he is plainly no democrat; but, for our own parts, we venture to dispute it, which we do on two grounds, the first of which we think conforms to principle, and the second of which we consider as strictly agreeable to expediency.

In the first place, we are to remember that the war was not begun as one to be waged in order to destroy Autocracy. Clearly, so long as Russia supported an autocratic form of government, the cry to which we refer could not be consistently, decently, or even safely, raised. The kind of war at which we here glance was not set on foot until after the Republic was proclaimed in Russia. It seems to us, therefore, that however meritorious in itself that cry may be, the particular circumstances under which it was lately

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raised take off a good deal from its moral value on the occasion which we are now considering. We must candidly confess, then, that the circumstances attending the birth of the new prodigy, conjoined with reflexions occasioned us by reason of its comparatively late arrival on the scene, render us a deal less enthusiastic than, were those several circumstances of a different nature, we should doubtless have been, and still be. Our second consideration under this head is the following, namely, that an exception, to be well and truly laid, as it were, must spring from well-ascertained causes; must be the product of cool and deliberate judgment; and, finally, must answer satisfactorily to those tests which time and a long and orderly concatenation of events are alone to be regarded as sufficing to establish it. Tested by these tests, so far as they are presently available, we have no hesitation in characterising our hypothetical exception as nothing but a transparent attempt to violate a law which it is quite powerless to prove in any useful fashion. We adhere, accordingly, to our original contention that the democratic rule as to States and their governments is precisely as we have stated it to be; and, further, that the German case is no exception to it.

Let us now consider the question of expediency. In an article entitled, "Liberalism and the War," and published in *The Westminster Gazette* on May 4 last, the writer therein argues that the war against the Central Powers should be continued until "the Prussian Autocracy" shall have been destroyed. "We have not only to beat it," says the writer of the article in question, "but to end it, as a weapon of war; and

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the whole future of our cause depends on getting a result which shall be decisive and uncompromising in that respect." Now, to "beat" any form of Autocracy, whether Prussian or non-Prussian, so as to cause it to disappear as "a weapon of war," or otherwise, we venture to add, is obviously a gain of the last consequence to humanity at large. Caesars are a nuisance, nay more, an unmitigated curse; and the sooner the world rids itself of the grievous incumbrance of its unconstitutional (and constitutional) dictators, together with the system of centralised rule bequeathed us through the channel of those two great enemies to liberty and freedom, the Justinian Code and the Feudal Laws, the better it will be for the whole of mankind. Thus much do we cheerfully and candidly acknowledge; but it appears to us that, with regard to the particular contentions of *The Westminster Gazette*, the writer in that sea-green organ of incorruptible Liberalism has somewhat confused the issues, if he has not actually begged the question. The fight, according as we ourselves labour to understand it, is not against Prussia, but the Central Powers. It is true that the various countries comprising those Powers are alleged by their enemies to have fallen under the sway of the Prussian Autocracy; but, whether they have so succumbed or not, the point we wish to insist on is this, that if autocracy is really the root of all evil in the Central Powers, the obsession at which we glance must be charged impartially and indifferently upon all and sundry those countries that are at present leagued together in order to resist the arms of the Allies. And we think that it will be found

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that into the composition of this point of view the question of expediency is not the last, nor yet the least considerable, to enter.

The permanent, as opposed to the merely "war-time," principles of Democracy insist that no people shall be governed otherwise than as they themselves choose to be ruled. But, there is here a further point to consider, which is: is it wise, is it politic, to continue "beating" or destroying a system of rule which, in their clear and undoubted right to the exercise of the principle which sanctions it, has been embraced and is supported by one people, though it is attacked, vilified, and abused by another, or others? In other words, if due regard be had to the spirit and genius, as well as to the letter of the Democratic Canon and Code, should not gentle, rather than violent, means be employed to bring the offenders to a due sense of the enormity of their ways in all cases in which it can be satisfactorily established that their ways are such as constitute a nuisance and a danger to the rest of society? The cloak of that man which the most violent of the winds was unable to tear from him, the sun caused him to lay aside the moment it burst forth from the clouds with all its accustomed warmth and geniality. Let us remember that. Again, the moral consequences of pursuing a criminal with inveterate and unrelenting severity are often in inverse ratio to the power of the brutalising and hardening effects produced in his breast by subjecting him to a pressure at once so continuous and unrelenting. May it not well so fall out, then, that, instead of melting the heart of the German, and

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bringing him off from the villainy of his ways, the consequences of continuing to "beat" him as the Allies are daily, if not hourly, doing, will turn out to be the very reverse of those which they must needs be eagerly looking for, as well on moral grounds as on those derived to them from a lively sense of the vast fatigue and expense occasioned themselves by the chastising process to which they have reluctantly, no doubt, but, if we are to believe their own words, most altruistically set their hands?

So far as the Allies are concerned, there would appear to have been several stages of the present war at which the first thoughts that occurred to them, rather than the second and the ones on which they subsequently acted, are much to be preferred, when considered in the light of recent events, to their present consequences, and their probable future effects. It is unnecessary here to enter into any large detail touching those several past occasions on which, it appears to us, the Allies had been wiser, and had done better, had they united to consult their discretion, instead of combining to give a loose to their valour. We cannot, however, refrain from glancing at one such occasion, which occurred shortly after the outbreak of the Revolution in Russia. It was then widely hoped, and daily did the Allied press noisily chorus the expectation, that the political effects of that upheaval would quickly spread to Germany. That the Kaiser would be dethroned, if not assassinated; his dynasty abolished for ever; Prussian militarism utterly cut off and rooted up; and a republic set up in room of the monarchy; such were a few of some

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of the least sanguine hopes and expectations that were then indulged. That they were indulged falsely, and, like many more that time and Germanic obstinacy have united to disappoint since the beginning of the war, on quite insufficient grounds, affects our present argument in no way. The obvious policy of the Allies was, to improve the situation which their Russian friends had created for them by, temporarily at all events, refraining from continuing to "beat" the Germans, in the hope that (and for our part we think it by no means an ill-founded one, considering all the political circumstances and conjunctures of those days); in the hope that by so indulging them for a space the German people would have time and opportunity afforded them in which to rid themselves of the yoke under which they presently groan, or, at all events, would be enabled so to modify the inhuman severity and the gross barbarity of their existing constitution as, by rendering it answerable to the mild spirit and the humane genius characterising the similar institutions of France, England, Belgium, Servia, Montenegro, Roumania, China, Portugal, Brazil, etc., etc., should suffice to render any further prosecution of the "War against Autocracy" plainly undesirable and obviously unnecessary, and so bring that deplorable event itself to a happy and a glorious close.¹ Un-

¹ Since these lines were in type, there has appeared a very interesting article in the London *Daily News*, of June 13th last, on the subject of "Russia and the War." In the course of that paper, the writer gives some extracts from the Russian press, quoting, among others, the opinions of the newspaper *New Life*, which says that "the programme of the Tsar, Milyukov, Briand, and Lloyd George" must be destroyed. "If this is done, the German proletariat, assured that the existence of their country is no longer threatened, will compel their rulers to stop the war."

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fortunately, however, the obvious policy of the Allies was not that which history will have the melancholy duty of charging on them on many occasions. Whilst semi-officially endorsing the wild expectations of their newspaper prophets, and setting their publicists to work to float all manner of extravagant tales touching plots, strikes, conspiracies, and revolutions in Germany, they, very oddly and very foolishly, it appears to us, simultaneously redoubled their attacks, both in their *Communiqués* and in the field, on the Central Powers. Surely this was a highly whimsical way of fomenting dissensions and sowing disunion in Germany? That the conduct of the Allies presented itself in that very light to those who, since they were the people principally designed to be affected by it, we are entitled to consider as the best judges of that matter, appears very plain by what followed as soon as ever this mingled tornado of shot and shell, denunciation, abuse, threats, and exhortations, was let loose. The Germans promptly closed their ranks. Defiance was hurled against defiance. Dictation was met by dictation. Principle was opposed by principle. "Never shall we mend our manners or recast our constitution at the demand of a parcel of impudent foreigners," cried the Germans in effect. Thus, a capital opportunity was lost, and the "War against Autocracy" went dismally and bloodily on.

"To attribute (says the philosopher Hume) a distinct existence to the things which we feel, or see, is unreasonable. Reason neither does, nor is it possible it ever should, upon any supposition, give us any assurance of the continued and distinct existence of

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any body. All the rules of logic require a continual diminution, and at last a total extinction, of belief and evidence." If this rule, laid down by Hume, were applied to our present discussion, we apprehend that many would conceive that the refining process to which we have subjected the latter has already refined the "War against Autocracy" well-nigh out of existence. Doubtless, in one sense, the criticisms which we have addressed against it are calculated to have that effect; but in respect of another, which is one on which we are about to offer some observations, we imagine it will be found that no such untoward consequences are likely to follow our discussion.

That the German system of rule is harsh, unconscionable, illiberal, and tyrannical in many respects is an assertion which no sane man can have the front to dispute. Whether the German Government did at any time, or does now, seriously entertain those large schemes of aggrandisement and conquest which its enemies ascribe to it, is, doubtless, a debatable matter; but we hold strongly that sufficient reliable evidence exists to justify general censure and condemnation of that Government in respect of some at least of the many counts of indictment that have been brought against it. Again, considering the question of the German conduct of the war, we think that few, if any, will dissent from us when we say that many undoubted atrocities have been committed by the German military authorities, and the German armies in the field, in the course of it. It is true that the worst of these atrocities are not quite as horrible as were some of those committed by the English army in

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Scotland after the battle of Culloden; but, so far as the Germans are concerned, they are not at liberty to draw extenuating circumstances to themselves by reason of that fact.¹ Those outrages and villainies condemn them. The German people owe humanity

¹ Cruelties, the memory of which is unseasonably and inconveniently revived, are very apt to be airily dismissed by partial writers as being of no immediate concern, or as being ebullitions of ferocity which belong to times less softened and civilised than those which have given us the privilege of the company of these apologists. It will be found, however, that, in most cases, the barbarities on which we touch were as strongly condemned at the time in which they were committed as they would be nowadays, if perpetrated, not by ourselves, but by an enemy. Bolingbroke, who is often accused of being too partial to the French, holds language about the crimes committed by that nation under Louis XIV. which is quite as strong as any with which recent events and modern publicists have familiarised us. "Some of the cruelties (says this author) which he (Louis) exercised in the Empire may be ascribed to his disappointment . . . yet these cruelties, *unheard of among civilised nations*, must be granted to have been ordered by the councils, and executed by the arms, of France in the Palatinate, and in other parts." Nor would it appear that Bolingbroke who, as a politician, was by no means over scrupulous, was less capable than are our moralists of to-day of recognising a theft when he saw one. He certainly minces no words in describing some of the methods pursued by Louis. "He took Luxemburg by force (he says), he *stole* Strasburg, he bought Casal." Doubtless, two wrongs do not suffice to make a right; but the spectacle of a trull, who, in her old age, thinks to set up for saint, violently railing at the frailties of her younger sisters in misfortune is surely more amusing than edifying. Finally, the argument which seeks to excuse the French of the days of Louis, or the English of those of George II., by the character of the times those princes lived in is dishonest cant. Christians everywhere must be judged by a moral code which is not the invention of a century or two ago, but is as old as the Apostles.

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at large a heavy moral indemnity on account of them ; and we submit that the best way for them to repent of them, and to purge themselves of the source from which they are sprung, is for that people to turn and crush its own militarism.

But the " War against Autocracy " would produce but very partial and inconclusive effects if it were suffered to end where we have ventured to urge it is desirable that it should begin. Though she may be the greatest, yet Germany is by no means the only, offender. There are other countries whose peoples should consider themselves as morally no less obliged to set their houses in order ; to ascend the stool of national repentance on account of cruelties and barbarities committed by themselves ; to suppress dictators, potential or declared ; to abolish imperialism ; to democratise the systems of rule under which they live ; to root out militarism ; to suppress injurious international heats and hatreds fomented by diplomacy, and brought to a head by wholesale bribery and corruption ; to put down that vile sort of greed and covetousness whose diffusion is principally due to the nefarious operations of those pests of modern society, the international " financial rings "—in fine, to fulfil the letter and the spirit of the gospel preached by the Russian Revolution. Such a " War against Autocracy " as we here design, would, provided the nations could be persuaded to it, transform and transfigure the whole face of Christendom. It would prepare the way, as nothing else can do, for the literal fulfilment of Mr. Wilson's peace proposals. By cutting off the causes of wars, it would infallibly lead to the utter extinction

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of that disgraceful institution itself—the bane of mankind, and the curse and the plague of the universe. Moreover, such a "War against Autocracy" as it is our fervent wish to see brought on to the carpet, would further benefit humanity inasmuch as it should, and could, be waged without the shedding of blood. O ineffable improvement on the cruel and barbarous ways of the chartered Society of European Cut-throats ! The recognised forms of every existing constitution throughout Europe provide the machinery whereby the people could, if they wished and willed it, everywhere climb into undisputed power ; purge their respective stables of the abominations that presently encumber them ; and knock off the chains from those whom imperialism has bound to its triumphal car.

Not long ago there happened in the House of Commons what does not often occur in that dull assembly, an interesting debate ; and as the topic raised on that occasion is one that bears on this, we propose to devote a few words to it. The particular debate we allude to was concerned with the subject of the Allies' war-aims ; and was further distinguished by some characteristic passages of words touching the vexed question of "Annexation." Mr. Asquith's performance on the occasion at which we here glance somehow or other reminds us of the saying attributed to Pythagoras, that he would rather be a bull for one day than an ox always. For that day at all events, the ex-Prime Minister of England justified the association by projecting himself into no less than four bulls, consisting of as many "definitions," which he presented to his audience as being the varied off-spring

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of the one undoubted sire, "Annexation" by name. In that four-fold form Mr. Asquith frisked and capered most bovinely for the space of an hour or so, to the huge delight and unbounded admiration of the assembled refiners and hair-splitters. To change the image, Mr. Asquith set to work to spin such a web of sophistries round and about the word "Annexation" as sufficed, not only to catch scores of his thoughtless listeners, but also hopelessly to enmesh himself. The plain intent of that word is, surely, not to be mistaken for a moment by even the most impressionable mind. Politically considered, "Annexation" is a euphemism for what in less exalted circles is styled "Theft."

It will be found, we imagine, on a near view of them, that, of the many moral ills that afflict mankind, the greatest part of them springs from our neglect to enforce the principles with which knowledge and experience have already gifted us. The many admirable precepts contained in the Christian religion (precepts sufficient, as well unto material, as spiritual, salvation) are suffered to languish as so many dead letters, merely because mankind, though ready enough to do lip-service to them, has not sense and virtue enough to put them into execution. And when wars arise and plagues come, we, like the foolish and impudent knaves we are, turn round on those precepts, and have the supreme front to abuse and malign them, because, by neglecting, when we should have been industriously cultivating, them, they have failed to work in us, whilst we continued to flout and outrage them, the miracle of saving us from the just and inevitable consequences of our own barbarity and folly. This

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is the state of the moral world at the time ; and that of politics is not unlike unto it. There is no want of fine precepts, just principles, and humane notions in that province, any more than that the other at which we glance can be truly said to be the field of a similar scarcity. Yet, what do we find ? Reluctance on all sides to apply and press the principles with which political experience has gifted us ; shameless hair-splittings, equivocations, and foolish refinements touching the putting in practice of the most elementary notions of political honour and justice ; absurd balancings of mind, and transparent evasions of bounden duty, in the clear face of facts and circumstances whose appealing and compelling nature the merest savage, untinctured and uncorrupted by contact with modern civilisation, would be the first to acknowledge, and by no means the last to act on. These are some of the moral obliquities which, like noisome weeds, crowd, hinder, blight, and stunt the growth of justice and plain-dealing in respect of the practice of European politics. The speech delivered by Lord Robert Cecil on the same occasion with that on which Mr. Asquith entered into his deferred political inheritance as Lord-High Hair-Splitter to the English Empire, bristled with them. It was full of sophistries, and the measure of evasion which he poured and pressed into it, caused it to run over so mightily that almost the entire " House " came near to be overwhelmed by that sticky inundation. That lord's principal difficulty seems to have consisted in a prospective application of the principle of Annexation. Let us solve it for him, according to the teachings of the Democratic faith that is in us. Annexations of

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other people's territories, like common thefts of other people's goods, are immoral, and should be disallowed.¹ Peoples who have thrown off foreign yokes, and have declared themselves free and independent of their oppressors, be they "benevolent" or be their characters according to the plain intent of the word we have used, should be suffered to remain free and independent, no matter whether or not their being so is a cause of offence, or even inconveniency, to any other country or power that may pretend that its own "interests" are injured and jeopardised, or are like to be so, by their being and remaining free and independent. Debatable cases, like those of Alsace and Lorraine, should be referred to the voice of the people of those countries themselves, who, under an international *ad hoc* Commission, should have the right to vote themselves into the orbit of one or other of the Powers that dispute for their possession. But if the inhabitants of such debatable lands prefer freedom and independence to coming under the "protection" of either or any claimant to their territories, in that event clearly the true Right Divine (which is the basis of all Democracy) demands, and ought to assure, that these people shall be indulged that lawful and that natural right. Lands and territories stolen from peoples which white men obliquely condemn by applying to them the epithet of "coloured," but who, nevertheless, are of the same flesh and blood with ourselves, and so are to be supposed to be susceptible of the same passions, feelings, and sentiments that animate ourselves, should be restored to them, if they be civilised enough to sanction the

¹ *c.f.* President Wilson's Peace Proposals.

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exercise of that measure of justice towards them ; but if they be not tamed and educated enough to permit of their being given the management of their own affairs, in that event those natives should be regarded as being in a state of pupilage, and should be placed therein by an elective Commission of European powers, until such times as they shall be sufficiently civilised to be admitted to the comity of free nations.

It has been justly observed of Solon that his laws began the reign of mind over force. The form of Democracy which he erected at Athens was defective in many respects ; but his concessions to the popular element, though narrow, and representing no more than he felt himself obliged to yield, in order to attach the whole people to the State, yet admitted principles that were susceptible of being carried much higher and farther than the claims which he actually conceded. The same observation holds true in regard to the political doctrines of the English Independents, whose idea that each congregation should govern itself, though opposed and ruthlessly put down by Cromwell, yet flourished in the New World to which it was carried, and strongly tinctured political thought in later times. The guarded admissions and balanced concessions to democratic sentiment and belief, contained in Lord Robert Cecil's speech in the House of Commons, appear to us to be no less susceptible of being used to sanction applications of principle extending far beyond the narrow limits within which he laboured to confine his somewhat academic exposition of the theme with which he dealt on that occasion. To improve, to enlarge, and, in their improved and

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enlarged form, to diffuse those principles which a study of that speech is calculated to derive to us, is at once our duty and our privilege as Democrats, and as friends to the cause of human progress. The great toast raised by Charles James Fox in the year that witnessed the taking of the Bastille, we also raise, in slightly enlarged form, in this stupendous and glorious year of the Russian Revolution: "To the Sovereignty of the People, their Better Education, and Enduring Ascendancy!"



The Consular Service



THE re-organisation of commerce and industry "after the war" is already engaging the attention of statesmen and business men in all the belligerent countries. Important though howitzers, "tanks," and dreadnoughts may be, it is realised that even this stupendous conflict which is draining the life-blood of Europe will one day draw to a close ; that there will come a time, sooner or later, when Scotsmen, in common with allies and enemies alike, will realise that there are better and nobler uses for our gallant sons than to ship them off as cannon-fodder to France or Flanders. With the dawn of peace, Europe will be confronted with a series of problems of scarcely less magnitude than those connected with the war. Several of these have already been discussed in the pages of *The Scottish Review*, but there is one aspect of the rebuilding of Scottish commerce that calls for fuller consideration. I refer to the reform of the Consular Service, more particularly in the interests of Scottish commerce.

Towards the end of March this year, there was issued the final report of the Royal Commission "on the national resources, trade, and legislation of certain portions of His Majesty's Dominions." It is an important and carefully-considered pronouncement on the Empire's trade, and contains many useful suggestions regarding the development of the commerce

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of the United Kingdoms and the Dominions over the sea. That the report is vitiated to some extent by flamboyant Imperialism is probably true, but many of the proposals will commend themselves to men of all parties and of conflicting political creeds. The suggested reform of the Consular Service, for example, will meet with the hearty approval of loyal Free Traders as well as of those who believe that the taxation of the people's food is one of the foundation stones of national prosperity. Before examining in detail the findings of the Royal Commission, it will be necessary to take a brief preliminary glance at the history of Scotland's foreign trade and the origin of the Consul's office.

"The object of the institution of Consuls is to protect the commerce and the navigation of the country which appoints them; to represent the interests of their fellow-countrymen to the authorities of the country in which they are resident; to exercise, under certain conditions, jurisdiction over them; and to furnish to their own Government information and suggestions which may tend to promote the prosperity of commerce." Thus concisely are the position and powers of the Consular Service summed up in Lorimer's *Institutes of the Law of Nations*. The Consular Service, as we know it to-day, however, is no Jonah's gourd which has sprung up in the night. It is a venerable institution, which dates back in its more primitive form to the days of the old Trade Guilds; its sphere was extended considerably at the time of the Industrial Revolution, but its development since then has not been by any means commensurate with the growth of our foreign trade. To-day the machinery has

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become antiquated, and the wheels are clogged with the rust and entangled with the red-tape of generations.

In Scotland the first trade agents—the first embassies of commerce—were the representatives of the great religious communities. The mediæval Church was, in the fullest sense of the words, an international organisation, and was closely associated with the early trading between Scotland and the Continent. The monks were not only religious leaders, but in their secular sphere were pioneers of industry, and precursors of the latter-day Consuls. The Count of Flanders, it may be recalled, granted the monks of Melrose free passage for their goods through his dominions, and special trading privileges were conferred on the religious houses both by David I. and Alexander II. The clergy, moreover, were the greatest ship-owners in the country, and the Cartularies contain frequent exemptions of the ships of the bishops, abbots, and priors from the duties levied on merchantmen. The religious communities on the Continent, closely linked up with those in Scotland, were thus in a very real sense the ambassadors and pioneers of commerce, even when the great Trade Guilds had commenced the "peaceful penetration" of the Continental markets. With the growth of the trading communities and the settlement of colonies of Flemings on the East Coast of Scotland, the business relations with the Continent were rapidly extended. Representative agents were appointed by the Scottish merchants in foreign countries, and the Consular system gradually assumed a well-defined place in the commercial relations of the various nations. It was by

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the Hanseatic League, however, that the Service was chiefly developed, and at one time this great trading body maintained more than a hundred foreign representatives in various parts of the world. Dr. Lorimer, in his *Institutes*, says that "Traces of the existence of a Hanse have been discovered in Scotland as early as the reign of David I., a century before the date commonly assigned to the great Baltic Association. David's reign commenced on the 27th April, 1124, so that if the Consulate formed a part of the early Scottish *Ansum*, as it did of the more famous *Hanse* of the North of Europe, we may claim to have had Consuls, as we certainly had resident ambassadors, long before the date assigned as that of their general institution in Europe."

Foreign Consuls were at first elected by the general body of merchants, with the approval of the magistrates of the burgh. Professor Innes, in his history of *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, and also in his preface to Haliburton's *Ledger*, gives much interesting information on this point. "In 1456," he says, "we read of the appointment, with the express consent of the magistrates of Aberdeen, of a certain prudent man (*providus vir*) Lawrence Pomstret, burgess of Slusa, who shall be the host and receiver of all Scotsmen, merchants, or others, that may visit the town of Slusa in Flanders." "This, I take it," continues Mr. Innes, "is the first appointment of a Scottish Consul on record, and Lawrence Pomstret was evidently the predecessor of our Haliburton." This view of the position of the mediæval Scottish Consuls is also borne out by Dr. Lorimer, in the work from which we have already quoted.

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A famous Scottish Consular establishment to which very extensive privileges were conceded was that of the conservatorship of the privileges of the Scottish nation in the Netherlands, over which Andrew Haliburton . . . presided. The Scottish *staple*, it is said, was transferred from Bruges to Campvere in 1444 in consequence of the marriage of the lord of Vere with Mary, the sister of James I., and if a *staple* or factory implied a Consulate, or something equivalent, we may assume that there was a Scottish Consul at Bruges long before the appointment of Strozzi to be English Consul at Pisa in 1485 or 1490.

It is obvious, of course, that these mediæval Consuls were in the main the private representatives of the merchants who appointed them, and only concerned themselves with such disputes as the trading community might submit to them for decision. It soon became apparent, however, that the importance of the Consul's office demanded fuller powers than these, and "in order to strengthen their authority and give efficacy to their decisions," it was deemed necessary to obtain the ratification of the appointments by the sovereign to whom they were subject. Subsequently the various Governments assumed the direct responsibility of appointing the Consuls. Thus the private agents of the Scottish merchants acquired in course of time the powers and responsibilities of Public Ministers, and the Consul's office was elevated to a position scarcely less important than that of the Ambassador.

There is no need to trace the fluctuations of Scottish commerce during the upheavals occasioned by the Union of Parliaments and the great industrial revolution. All these things are sufficiently familiar to students of history. Suffice it to say that the establishment of

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Free Trade between Scotland and England was followed by the gradual merging of the trade relations of the two Kingdoms, including, of course, the replacement of the independent Scottish Consular Service by one which was predominantly English—much to the detriment of the commerce of Scotland.

An examination of the present position of the Consular system of the United Kingdoms reveals a remarkable paradox—the service, although one of the most important in Europe, is also one of the most cumbersome and inefficient. It is clogged, as I have said, by the rust of centuries; the higher officials have displayed an astounding inability to adapt themselves to the changing commercial situation. It is no exaggeration to say that the foreign trade of Scotland has attained its present important position not by the aid of the reputed ambassadors of commerce, but in spite of the inefficiency and antiquated methods of the Consular Service.

Mr. R. B. Dunwoody, Secretary of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, compiled a table which was published in a recent issue of *The Times Trade Supplement*, showing the number of Consular representatives in various foreign countries, and the number paid and unpaid, the total salaries and expenses, the total imports and exports of each country, and the amount of exports and imports from and to the United Kingdoms. In the 41 principal trading countries of the world there are 675 Consular officers. It is stated that of these only 229, or approximately one-third, are paid. There are 446 officers unpaid, although in some cases unpaid officials receive office allowances.

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In Austria and Hungary before the war there were only 9 Consular officers, of whom only 5 were paid; in Germany we had 35, of whom only 11 were paid. In France we have 66, of whom only 25 are paid. In Italy 43, with only 14 paid. In the Netherlands 25, of whom only 5 are paid. In Russia 40, of whom 16 are paid.

Below will be found the most recent figures (for 1914-15) of the cost of the Consular Service:—

Salaries,	£183,288
Office Expenses and Fee Allowances, ...	121,299
Special Services, Outfits, and Travelling, ...	24,700
Postage,	2,500
Incidental,	2,000
Chapels, Chaplains, Hospitals, etc., ...	1,250
Relief to Distressed British Subjects, ...	1,000
	<hr/>
	£336,037

The cost of the Consular Service, it is pointed out, is .07 per cent. of the value of our exports, or roughly, only about one-sixth of a penny per pound sterling. It is true that the Consular officer has many other duties to perform besides acting as scout for British trade, but in recent years increasing importance has rightly been attached to the commercial branch of the service.

The official instructions received by the Consuls in this connection are of special interest:—

It will be the particular study of the Consul to become conversant with the laws and general principles which relate to the trade of Great Britain with foreign parts; to make himself acquainted with the language and with the municipal laws of the country wherein he resides, and especially with such laws as have any connection with the trade between the two countries . . . He will bear in mind that it is his principal duty to protect and promote the lawful trade and trading interests of Great Britain by every fair and proper means, taking care to conform to the laws and the regulations in question.

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These general instructions may be said to be counsels of perfection, but that they are sometimes more honoured in the breach than in the observance has long been obvious to those who are closely identified with the commercial life of the community. Mr. Percy F. Martin, F.R.G.S., in the course of a notable article which appeared in the *Open Review*, July, 1909, says :—

From a long and intimate acquaintance with the methods of modern Consular Service—gathered, I may add, in every part of the world—I am firmly convinced that a more clumsily conceived, or a more indifferently conducted system of Consular representation does not exist than that of Great Britain. . . . Many persons who occupy the position of British Consul are “British” neither by birth, nor sentiment, nor in method. . . . It was proved that throughout the Great Empire (Germany), which is opposed so much to British trade and commerce, and between whose commercial representatives and ourselves so long existed, and must ever exist, the keenest rivalry, nine-tenths of the Vice-Consuls are of German birth and origin.

That indictment will be endorsed by business men on both sides of the Tweed, but Scotland, in particular, has suffered from the lack of enterprise and initiative on the part of our Consular Service. English trade jealousy of Scotland and Ireland is an old tale, but it is one that receives striking confirmation almost daily. The author of a pamphlet printed in the year 1704, and designed to meet the charge that French interest was then too much apparent in our parliament, says that it was not so much French as English interest that he complained of. “The French (he says) have neither meddled with our Acts of Parliament, as the English have done, nor sent to the Courts of Europe to stifle

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our trade; but, on the contrary, have supplied our ships in their Islands with fresh water, even when the English, contrary to all rules of humanity, refused it." One typical modern example may be given of how Scottish trade is handicapped under the present system. For the biscuit market in the Far East (Siam, etc.) three large firms were in competition—one Scottish, one Irish, and the other English. Their names need not be specified, but those who are familiar with the baking industry will have little difficulty in filling these in for themselves. Competition between the rival firms to capture this lucrative Eastern trade became very brisk. The "British" Consular Service set its creaking machinery in motion, with the result that the English biscuits were rapidly ousting Scottish and Irish all over this Eastern "sphere of influence." Just at this point an enterprising Australian firm entered the arena and captured the whole market! It is quite probable that the Australian firm had special facilities for supplying the Far-Eastern market, but the point to be noted is that the Consular Service frequently tends to handicap Scottish and Irish manufactures against their English competitors. Even in the home market a similar tendency has been witnessed in connection with the allocation of war contracts. In a recent issue of the *Board of Trade Gazette*, for example, it would have been noted that for every war contract given to Scotland, thirteen were given to England. Here are a few examples:—Cloth and clothing (including serge, tartan, and uniforms)—England 125, Scotland 3; cotton (piece goods)—England 20, Scot-

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land 0; tools—England 101, Scotland 2; heads brooms, etc.—England 47, Scotland 1; tinware—England 32, Scotland 0; medicine—England 29, Scotland 0. In hosiery, Scotland secured 42 out of 170 contracts. Scotland's share of war work is so inequitable that it might well have attracted the attention even of our somnolent M.P.'s at Westminster, but thus far they have been dumb dogs all. The war contracts incident does not, of course, directly affect our indictment of the Consular Service. I mention the circumstance simply for the purpose of emphasising the fact that in home trade, as in foreign trade, the same "hidden hand" is at work, and that Scotland and Ireland suffer commercially as well as financially from the monopolising propensities of the predominant partner. It is essential that in the reformed Consular Service there should be a strong and equitable representation of Scottish trading interests working under the direct control—and in active co-operation with—a Scottish Department of the Board of Trade. That, of course, is but a preliminary step pending the establishment of a complete system of Federal Government and the re-assembling of our Scottish National Parliament, but it is a step which ought to commend the practical support of every Scotsman to whatever political creed or party he may belong.

One recalls that in the early years of the *Sinn Féin* movement the proposal to "send Irishmen to act as Consuls in foreign countries instead of sending them to orate in the British Parliament" received a considerable amount of support. "The National Assembly," it was suggested, "should choose and appoint

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from year to year competent men of business training, character, and linguistic knowledge to form an Irish Consular Service and to act in all respects—save those which require the special *exequatur* granted to Consuls of independent nations—as the Consular servants of other countries do.” The suggestion gives proof at any rate of courage and imagination. The position of the Consular Service under a system of Federal Government will, however, require very careful consideration, but, meantime, the attention of business men and autonomists north of the Tweed might well be concentrated on the proposal which I have briefly outlined. That is the first step to be taken in order to bring the Consular Service more closely into touch with present-day needs in Scotland. One might then hope to see the fresh breezes of Democracy sweep some of the ancient cobwebs out of what is at present a musty as well as an exclusive institution. The co-ordination of the work of the Scottish Board of Trade and the Consular Service might then be followed by the linking up of the Chambers of Commerce with the reformed agencies for foreign trade. In this respect one notes with satisfaction the recognition—belated though it may be—by certain Government Departments of the important part played in the country by the Chambers of Commerce. The proposal to use these representative associations to a greater extent than hitherto for the diffusion of information regarding new trade outlets will—there is every reason to believe—command the fullest support of Scottish business men.

Scarcely less important than the extension of the

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activities of our foreign trade agencies is the training of our future Consular agents. There is, it is to be feared, too good reason for the complaint that our Vice-Consuls have not always been "British," either by birth, training, or sentiment, while those not open to that reproach have frequently been out of touch with the social and commercial life of the country in which they were stationed. This is true not merely of the Consular office, but also of the more dignified and more highly privileged British Embassies. Sir Edward Pears's revelations regarding the situation at Constantinople immediately before the outbreak of the war shed a lurid light on the bungling methods of English diplomacy in the Near East. It will be recalled that not a single prominent official at our Embassy at Constantinople was familiar with the Turkish language—and that, too, at one of the most critical periods in our relations with the Eastern powers. The German Embassy, on the other hand, was fully equipped with a Turkish-speaking staff, and this marked superiority contributed in great measure not only to the success of the machinations of the diplomats of the Central Powers, but also helped materially the advancement of German trade and that "peaceful penetration" which had been going on for several years before the outbreak of the war. No one suggests that the Consular agency at Constantinople was equally weak in linguistic acquirements, nor is it proposed that our Ambassadors should be transformed into Imperial bagmen, but in view of the close relations between the Diplomatic and Consular services, and of the urgent need for still closer associations in the

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future, including the formation of a "bridge" by which capable officials in the trade department may "go up higher"—it is both desirable and necessary that the representation of our commercial and political interests in foreign countries should be strengthened. The old policy of aloofness and exclusiveness must be abandoned. We cannot afford to risk a repetition of the blunders of Constantinople.

All this emphasises the importance of the training of Consular agents and of the growing importance of higher commercial education. On this point the important report of the Scottish Education Reform Commission, which was issued towards the end of May, contains some useful suggestions. The strictures of the Committee on our existing methods are refreshingly frank and emphatic.

In its lower stages, as in the Continuation Classes, our present system of Continuation Classes is much too narrow in its conception and objective, and in its higher forms it can hardly be said to have developed at all outside of private institutions where the methods employed are seldom educational. This singular lack of initiative and enterprise, with its disastrous results, is due in very great measure to the profound distrust with which the great majority of business men in this country have, in the past, regarded all attempts at systematic commercial education. This, in turn, is brought about by a deep-rooted insular contempt for the foreigner, and an almost complete ignorance of his commercial methods and their relation to the extraordinary trade developments of the past thirty years.

Nothing that has been said in the pages of *The Scottish Review* is more sweeping or emphatic than that indictment. The Commission point out, moreover, that, with the exception of foreign languages, the highest type of public commercial education in Scotland

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deals almost exclusively with the work of the office ; at no centre is there adequate preparation for the training of the foreign commercial traveller. " As a great industrial people, with threatened markets in every part of the world, this is perhaps the greatest of all our commercial needs." As stepping-stones towards higher commercial education in Scotland, the Committee propose that—

At least four Commercial Central Institutions should be established in Scotland, and associated by affiliation with the four Universities.

At one of these centres a course should be established for the training of the foreign commercial agent, and commercial travellers.

There should be Commercial Central Institutions not only in Glasgow, where the West of Scotland Commercial College was making excellent progress before the war, but also in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dundee ; and all the courses of a sufficiently high educational level should be affiliated with the corresponding University, and arrangements should be made to facilitate students at the Central Institution attending desirable classes at the University and *vice versa*.

It will thus be seen that the proposals contained in the report are eminently moderate and practical, and merit the careful attention of Education Reformers in Scotland. The Scottish Universities, too, it is gratifying to note are at long last begun to move with the times, and proposals for the institution of a Degree in Commerce are receiving attention at all the educational centres north of the Tweed. Soon, it is to be hoped, Scottish seats of learning will give the lie to the jibe that our Universities and Colleges are the last refuge of exploded economic theories and out-worn political creeds.

Edinburgh has already drafted an ordinance es-

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establishing the degree in commerce. In Glasgow, the General Council of the University has recommended the establishment of a degree. In Aberdeen the Chamber of Commerce has submitted a memorial to the University Court urging that a degree be instituted and outlining a suggested curriculum. Both in Aberdeen and Edinburgh the proposed curriculum consists of a three years' course, and includes such subjects as political economy, organisation of industry and commerce, social and economic statistics, modern languages (French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Russian), accounting and business methods, commercial law, history, engineering, chemistry, and physics. The need for such a forward step on the part of the Scottish Universities has long been apparent, and the sympathetic reception of the proposals is a sufficient indication that the time is ripe for this new development. The neglect of this important branch of education is all the more inexcusable in view of the fact that, both on the Continent and in America, commercial education occupies a prominent place in the curricula of the Universities. Seventy years ago an Institute of Commerce, on the footing of a University, was established in Antwerp, and has achieved a world-wide reputation. To the Belgian Institute, students came from the most distant parts of the world, and similar colleges of commerce have, in more recent years, been established in Germany, France, Russia, America, and Japan. In the newer English Universities—notably Birmingham and Manchester—commercial education has been receiving an increasing measure of attention, and the degrees include “B.

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Com." and "M. Com." There is no reason, therefore, why the Scottish Universities should longer lag behind. With improved commercial education—higher as well as lower—the foundation would be laid for the rebuilding of Scottish trade after the war by the enlightened co-operation of merchants, foreign commercial travellers, and Consular agents.

But the education of the Consular agent does not end when he secures his B. Com. degree. That is but the preliminary part of his training. It is essential that the men chosen as Consuls, Vice-Consuls, and Consular agents should be closely associated with the commercial life of the community. In the report of the Dominions Royal Commission, which I referred to at the outset, the defects of the Consular Service are frankly admitted and some suggestions are put forward for remedying existing short-comings.

In the past complaints have frequently been made that the Consular Service was out of touch with the needs of the mercantile community, but the Foreign Office in recent years has been endeavouring to meet this defect, and has provided that the junior members of this service shall have some weeks attendance at the Commercial Intelligence Department of the Board of Trade before taking up their posts abroad; increasing importance is being attached to the commercial side of Consular duties. In our judgment a considerable extension of this period of apprenticeship is desirable. A training of six months or a year in the Department of Commercial Intelligence should be regarded as essential before a Vice-Consul or Consul entering the service takes up his duties abroad.

This brief preliminary training will, however, be of little avail unless steps are taken to secure that adequate attention shall be paid to commercial matters during the subsequent career of Consular officers.

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The report further recommends that a more extended system of trade representation should be established in foreign countries.

The appointment of officers with duties analogous to those of the Trade Commissioners in the Dominions should provide a needed commercial stiffening to the Consular Service. . . .

The appointment of additional trade representatives in foreign countries would not, of course, wholly, or indeed to any paramount degree, relieve the Consuls of their duties in relation to trade. We recognise that the functions of Consular officers are by no means confined to commercial duties, but we fear that the latter have sometimes been relegated to a position subordinate to the official and representative functions which these officers are called on to perform. We would suggest, as an additional means of bringing the Consuls into touch with the commercial community that Consular officers in important trade centres should be required periodically to confer with commercial bodies and leading business men in the United Kingdoms and the Dominions. Their leave would, of course, have to be extended for this purpose.

Thus the Commissioners. The recommendations, it will be observed, take us a step further forward in the training of the Consular agent, and have, indeed, a very direct bearing on the situation in Scotland. The establishment of a Scottish Board of Trade is, as we have insisted, a necessary preliminary to the effective organisation of Scottish commerce, and it would be desirable that the aspiring Consular agent should serve the part of his "apprenticeship" referred to in that new Department. In the Scottish Board of Trade he would be brought into close touch with the commercial life of the northern Kingdom, and if his association with Scottish business men were renewed from time to time in the manner suggested in the report, the Consular Service would be materially

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strengthened, and the agents thus trained and equipped would be the advance-guards for opening up new fields for conquest by Scottish merchants and manufacturers.

The central idea of the reform scheme I have outlined is, it will be observed, the linking up of the work of the Scottish Schools and Universities, the Scottish Board of Trade, and the Consular Service, in order that a united effort might be made to promote the interests of Scottish commerce. The formation of a Scottish Board of Trade is necessary in order to keep our Consular representatives in close touch with the industrial and business life of Scotland. National control of trade is essential to efficiency. No man, not even a pro-Consul, can serve two masters. Trade autonomy is essential to Scotland if the best results are to be obtained. *Ad hoc* appointments should be the rule in the service. Specialised knowledge and experience, too, are necessary. Our Consuls should be conversant with Scottish trade and commerce in all its branches. The gateway should be open—right up to the highest posts—for young men of business ability and practical knowledge of commercial life. That is the ideal which our business men and education reformers must set before themselves—the establishment of a democratic Consular Service and the national control of Scottish trade and commerce.

WILLIAM DIACK.



“*Innis-Deoin-a’-Chridhe*”*

[From the Gaelic of D.M.N.C., in *An Ròsarnach*].

Gladly and softly, the Son of the Sky
Goes down to the Land of Rest,
And the dome of Heaven in his light on high
Is a-gleam and with glory drest;
Wave kisses wave, and the ocean lay
Sends praise to the lustrous height,
And my own heart sails o’er the sparkling spray
To the Isle of the Heart’s Delight.

Oh, west, far west, where the waters gleam,
And the path of day is not seen,
Is the home of my heart, the land of my dream,
And the slumber of bliss serene;
Love and Beauty and Music stay
In the bard’s dream-dwelling fair,
And wedded Bliss and Youth hold sway
For ever—and ever—there.

Around its strand the billows play
To the tune of the bards’ own song;
From the harps of minstrels light and gay
Soft strains ever glide along;

* Reproduced by kind permission of the Editor of *The Welsh Outlook*. The author of this beautiful rendering is Professor of Celtic in the University of Wales, while that of the Gaelic original is Dòmhnall Mac-na-Ceardadh, a translated specimen of whose prose work appeared not long ago in these pages. The meaning of “*Innis-Deoin-a’-Chridhe*” is “The Isle of the Heart’s Delight.”

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And behind, the shadows climb the slope
To the clouds, soft and delicate,
Hiding the rune of the Deathless Hope—
The magic mist of fate.


Oh, land of my love, that art ever bright,
The land that virtue fills,
My bosom's joy are thy day's new light,
And thy everlasting hills ;
Thy sparkling streams, and thy honied wells,
'Twere joyous their taste to know ;
Sweet is each song of thy hidden dells—
Ever my whispered woe.

Thy wild flowers spread o'er each comely place,
Like dreams of a heavenly hue,
Thy wealth of herbs, with their faultless grace,
And ever crowned with dew ;
Thy Muses divine with an endless love
Their praises pipe, and thy breath
Is a sacrifice that floats above
To the Lord of Life and Death.

My blessing upon thee, Land of Life,
Far over mist and sea,
Where my fathers dwell after storm and strife,
From tears and from sorrows free ;
And may I also, far above
The woes of Time alight
Within the Sweetness, the Light and Love
Of the Isle of the Heart's Delight !

T. GWYNN JONES.

The Unions of 1603 and 1707.

N the present paper I propose to discuss, from the standpoint of their political and commercial consequences to this Kingdom, some few of the effects of the Regal and Parliamentary Unions between Scotland and England, a matter touching which a great deal of ignorance still exists, and some confusion prevails in the public mind.

The Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England in the year 1603 was an event attended with very ill consequences to the former country. For centuries the gradual anglicisation of Scotland, through the channel of feudalism, had been going on ; but in spite of all efforts to break the national genius, the country was, at that period, in every way a distinct and separate political entity. At the Union, James VI. travelled southwards to London, never again to reside in his "ancient kingdom," save, after an interval of many years, for a very brief period. It may be safely said that James's departure was, in one sense, an event involving no particular loss to Scotland. But the removal of the King and Court to another country undoubtedly did involve the loss to his native country of a certain amount of political and social prestige. The same went to show, moreover, the relative importance attached by James to the two Kingdoms, for, after the Scottish succession to the English throne, that prince and his successors concerned themselves

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primarily with the interests of the larger, richer, and more populous of the two.

Before the Union of 1603 took place, the Stewart sovereigns, though the moulded products of feudal influences, yet had still at heart in great measure the interests of the country over which they ruled. After the Union, however, this was no longer the case. The tendency they adhered to was to treat Scotland as a mere pawn in the game of English politics. During the sixteenth century, Scotland, taking into consideration her size, population, and then undeveloped resources, had played a disproportionately prominent part in European high politics; but in the next, in consequence of the Union of the Crowns, this Kingdom played but an exceedingly minor part—indeed, for the greater part of that time, no part at all worth speaking of. The Kings of the Scoto-English dual monarchy became entirely English in outlook; James VI., in fact, gave voice to a pious wish that Scotland should become “but as Cumberland and Northumberland and those other remote and northern *shires*.” These Kings expected Scotland to figure in foreign politics in a way and on a scale which can by no means be reconciled with the national interests of Scotland, but which, on the other hand, we may easily render answerable to the interests of England. In fine, the foreign policy of these nominal Kings of Scots became an English foreign policy pure and simple; it was no longer a Scottish one. Our country no longer had its separate representatives at foreign Courts. The representatives of the Crown abroad, who were nearly always Englishmen, were, it is true, supposed to look

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after the interests of the two Kingdoms ; but, in practice, as was only to be expected, considering the partizan and insular nature of the English mind, these officers only considered and promoted the interests of the land of their birth. The result of this state of affairs was, that, throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century, Scotland practically disappeared from the world of foreign politics. For the same reasons, the interests of the foreign trade of Scotland were habitually neglected by the agents of England abroad, with whom to labour at foreign capitals in the interests of Scottish trade was probably the last thing they thought of doing. As regards questions of peace and war, Scotland was usually not consulted, although, of course, always expected to furnish soldiers and sailors for campaigns, dictated by English policy and interests.

By virtue of this unequally yoked combination, English interests took first place, and Scottish interests were nowhere. To such an extent did the utter neglect of Scottish interests prevail, that at last the demand was made that the separate and distinct interests of Scotland should once more be represented at the Courts of Europe by properly appointed and duly qualified Scottish agents. In 1646, the Scots Parliament instructed its Commissioners in London to "demand in behalf of the kingdome of Scotland . . . that of all forrayne negotiations at home or abroad, which ar nationall or of joynt concernment, ther be equall number imployed of both kingdomes" (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland* vi. 227). It does not appear, however, that any overt action was taken as

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regards this perfectly reasonable demand. The Commissioners were also instructed to require "that some of the King's shippes be appointed constantlie to guard the coast of Scotland, and give safe convoyes to Scotts shippes," the coastal defences of the Kingdom being then, as now, shamefully neglected under the Regal Union.

Fletcher of Saltoun was under no delusion as to either the ill consequences of the Union of the Crowns, or as to the necessity of separate national representation at foreign Courts.

His Majesty's Ministers abroad (he says, *Political Works*, p. 86), paid by the Crown of England, are no more to be looked upon as Ministers for the Crown of Scotland. Since we are separate kingdoms, and have separate Ministers at home, we ought to have separate Ministers abroad; especially in an affair wherein we may have a separate interest from England, which must always be in matters of trade, though never so inconsiderable. Neither ought we to have separate Ministers only upon the account of trade, but upon all occasions wherein the honour or interest of the nation is concerned. That we have not had them formerly, since we were under one King with England, was, I suppose, to save charges, and because we trusted to the impartiality of such as we judged to be the Ministers of the King of Great Britain; but now we are undeceived, and sure the nation could never have bestowed money better than in having a Minister at the late Treaty of Peace (the Treaty of Ryswick, 1697) who might have obtained the re-establishment of the nation in the privileges they had in France, which was totally neglected; and, notwithstanding the great and unproportionable numbers of sea and land soldiers that we were obliged to furnish for the support of the war, yet not one tittle of advantage was procured to us by the peace.

Present-day Scotsmen should lay to heart the simple moral of the last few sentences of the passage which I have quoted. Fletcher says further (p. 271):—

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All our affairs since the Union of the Crowns have been managed by the advice of English Ministers, and the principal offices of the Kingdom filled with such men as the Court of England knew would be subservient to their designs ; by which means they have had so visible an influence upon our whole administration that we have from that time appeared to the rest of the world more like a conquered province than a free independent people.

Touching this point of separate representation abroad, it is interesting to note that James VIII., the King over the water, was pledged to this most important reform, following upon representations made to him by the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Marr. In a letter to the Duke in January, 1722, James agrees " that an Envoy or Minister on the part of Scotland, besides the Minister of England, should be always sent by the King to reside at the Courts of France, Spain, Vienna, and Holland." (*Lord Mar's Legacy*, p. 209).

The Union of the Crowns, however, had a further most deplorable and untoward result. Hitherto the autocratic tendencies of the Kings of Scots had been largely kept in check by the power of the nobility ; too much so, indeed, if regard be had to the fact that the strength of the nobles was a lively danger not only to the crown, but to the country as a whole. In England, the old nobility had been nearly destroyed in consequence of the fratricidal struggle known to history as the Wars of the Roses ; and, because of those bloody and protracted wars, the Tudor sovereigns of that country were enabled to play the despot to their proud hearts' content. It had long been the desire of James VI. to enjoy the same inordinate prerogative as was possessed by his " darrest suster,"

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Elizabeth, that unprincipled, very unattractive, forbidding, and unscrupulous spinster, whom the English, for some reason known only to themselves, style indifferently "The Virgin Queen" and "Good Queen Bess." James's accession to the throne of England put him and his successors in possession of the coveted powers, and his native country became the unhappy *corpus vile* on which these powers were tested and exercised. This feature of their rule is particularly noticeable in the Stewart Kings' ecclesiastical policy. Without entering into the merits, or rather the demerits, of the squabble between Episcopacy and Presbytery, which for the best part of a century rent Scotland in twain, it is sufficient to say that, but for the increased opportunities given to the Kings' ecclesiastical policy, by reason of the connection with England, it is highly unlikely that the disastrous civil wars and rebellions in Scotland that disgraced the reigns of Charles I. and II. would have taken place. Under the circumstances, the Union of the Crowns naturally fostered and favoured the injurious idea of an absolute uniformity of worship in the two Kingdoms, which appears plain whether we consider the type of worship favoured by the King, or that favoured by the Kirk. Further, the ecclesiastical parties of the one Kingdom allied themselves with the corresponding parties in the other, so helping to loosen national cohesion, especially in the smaller country.

Another ill effect of the Regal Union was that James VI. and his successors added English "super-numerarie councillors" to the Scottish Privy Council. Thus in 1641, there were six Englishmen to thirty-seven

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Scots. After the Restoration, "it was this (English) section of the Council in London, and not the main body sitting in Edinburgh that inspired and directed its policy throughout the reign. Minor matters of administration were left to the discretion of the Councillors who met in Holyrood House, but on all great questions of Church and State, they received their instructions from the Secretary at Whitehall." Dr. Hume Brown, *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, 3rd Series, Vol. I., p. vi.). We see the evil results of this policy in the two Dutch Wars (*vide infra*) and, to a certain extent, in the persecution of the Covenanters.

To employ an analogy, drawn from mechanics, the Union of the Crowns may be justly said to have shifted the political centre of gravity of Scotland to a place outside its own borders. In politics, this event always results in an unstable equilibrium, a state of affairs which, in the case of Scotland, was vastly aggravated by the unhappy "Union" of the Parliaments in the following century. The two Unions are, in many ways, paralleled by the condition of affairs that obtained in Scotland after the annexation of Lothian in 1018, an event which followed the famous battle of Carham. The political centre of gravity, which had formerly been situated in Gaelic Scotland, was ultimately shifted to Lothian, that is to say to a district which had for long been under the sway of the English Kings of Northumbria, and in which, unlike the other provinces of Scotland, the English blood and interest were predominant (especially in the south-east, the modern Berwickshire), and in which, too, such Celtic influences as were re-estab-

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lished after Carham were soon in great measure neutralised, first, by the inrush of English refugees and Norman adventurers after 1066, and secondly, by the feudalising tendencies of the later Celtic Kings of Scotland, notably David I. The ultimate result of the incorporation of Lothian into the Scottish Kingdom was to help to change Scotland from a Gaelic Kingdom into one becoming increasingly English in language and culture. Carham, in fact, was in some ways a defeat rather than a victory for the Scots. A very similar state of affairs was brought to pass when the King of Scots succeeded to the Crown of England, that event being, in effect, a defeat for Scotland. In any case, it was anything but the "annexation" (of England) which some foolish and unlettered people imagine it to be.

So much for the political consequences of the Regal Union of 1603. In order to appreciate more fully the blighting effects of the Parliamentary Union of 1707, it is necessary to bear in mind certain outstanding features in the history of the Scots Parliament in the seventeenth century. At the opening of that period, we find Parliament overshadowed by that somewhat mysterious body known as the "Lords of the Articles." Until 1640, when the functions and prerogatives of the Lords of the Articles were temporarily abolished, Parliament neither initiated legislation nor debated the Acts which were nominally its work, the shaping of legislation being really the business of the Articles. The Parliament of 1640 asserted its rights in these matters of legislation, initiation, and debate, and determined to have a real

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control of legislation. And though the Lords of the Articles were re-horsed in the period embracing the years that passed between the Restoration and the Revolution, yet the powers of Parliament did not revert to their old unsatisfactory status. As Prof. Sanford Terry remarks, "The development of Parliament's internal powers, and of its relation to the Crown in the period (1603-1707) were astonishing. From holding a nominal and wholly subservient position in the constitution, it raised itself to one of independence. From being the mouthpiece of the executive, it achieved equality with that authority" (*The Scottish Parliament*, p. 161). The same author says further (p. 170), "The development . . . in the short space of little more than three generations is almost startling. It (Parliament) purged itself of the presence of those who had no claims to represent either the hereditary or the elected Estates. It developed a procedure to meet its newly-acquired constitutional powers. It obtained the control of its own membership, regulated the constituencies and guarded the franchise." Dr. Terry also observes (p. 164): "Everything in the last quarter of the seventeenth century points to a new era in its history. Pathetic in other respects, the Union is tragic in this, that it forever closed the career of Parliament at the moment when, after long preparation, it was ready, and able, to play a fitting part in the nation's history."

The Union of the Crowns had been fraught with disaster to Scotland, as we have seen. The Union, so-called, of the Parliaments was attended by even worse consequences. By reason of this pretended

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Act, one of the most conspicuous of the outward and visible symbols of the nation's life was taken away in the hour of its greatest usefulness. The Scots Parliament, even in the days of its greatest defects, was, at least, an indication of a separate national life. Its loss meant that Scotland became more than ever, so far as practical results were concerned, a province of England, and worse than that, a neglected province. Further, the Union greatly lowered the country in the eyes of Europe. Henceforward, Scottish legislation was to be left to the tender mercies of a foreign Parliament, the vast majority of whose members cared nothing for Scotland, and knew nothing of her. For considerably over a century, this Kingdom was numerically under-represented in that Parliament, just as, now-a-days, she is overtaxed by it. Such scanty legislation as was passed, nominally in her behalf, was, generally speaking, bad, and was often in defiance of the terms of the Act of Union itself. Wrongs and evils that cried for redress (the Highland clearances for example) were allowed to continue, if they were not actually fostered and encouraged for political purposes. The Scottish Parliament, had it not been cut off through the machinations of the pretended friend of small nationalities, would certainly have intervened to stop some at least of the crimes and grievances of which I speak.

A very short experience of the Union of 1707 sufficed to disgust many of those who, in neglect of their duty to their country, had voted for it. The treatment accorded to Scotland and the Scottish members was such that in the early years of the eighteenth

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century some of the latter entertained the idea, of absenting themselves, by way of protest, from Westminster (see *Stuart Papers*, Vol. III. pp. 206, 255). Unfortunately for Scotland, however, this idea was not persevered with. If the Scottish members had returned to Scotland, and had then and there addressed themselves to the task of organising popular opinion, the probability is that, in view of the unpopularity of the English connection, they would have received a measure of public support in every way sufficient to overthrow the Union.

It cannot be too much emphasised that loss of political independence never fails to produce in course of time a proportionate decline in respect of national vitality. As soon as the Greeks lost their freedom at the hands of Philip of Macedon, they began to fall away. Loss of independence, too, is always followed by a steady and progressive lowering of the standard of the national life. This has been the case in Scotland, as elsewhere. On the other hand, the regaining of freedom is always attended with a renewed and reinvigorated national life, as the history of Nationalism in Europe plainly proves. The reassertion of the political independence of Scotland is a necessary preliminary to the full development of the nation's life.

Such, in brief, were the political effects of the two "Unions." Let us now consider the effects of the same events upon Scottish trade, a matter touching which ignorance and prejudice prevail to an extent quite as considerable as they do so in respect of the other matter at which I have here glanced.

In England, and unfortunately even in Scotland,

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the vulgar superstition goes that Scottish trade was practically the creation of the Union of 1707, and that Scotland had next to no trade before that event. The study of Scottish history throws, however, a very different light on these matters.

Excluding the flourishing period of the Alexanders, it may be safely said that, prior to the reign of James VI., Scotland figures as backward in commerce and industry, if we compare her with some of the other nations of Europe. The more or less constant civil and foreign wars, want of capital, difficulties of access to Continental ports—all these causes contributed to produce this one result, apart altogether from such obstacles to progress in well-being as were raised by a not over-kindly climate, and what was, in the then low state of agricultural development, a poor soil.

The reign of James VI., more particularly the ten years preceding his succession to the English throne, was distinguished by an outburst of commercial activity which had no parallel (if we except the Alexanders) in previous reigns, and which enabled Scottish traders to overcome some of the more considerable of the difficulties referred to above. The making of woollens had long been one of the most prominent industries of the country, and a Commission was now appointed to consider methods of improving that important trade. New manufactures also were started, their promoters being greatly encouraged by grants of patents, while in the case of the leather, glass, and soap trade, much was done to foster these industries. Hitherto duties had not been imposed on goods imported into Scotland ; but an Act, passed in 1579, ordered the imposition of a

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levy of "tuelff penneis of euerie poundis worthe of all sortis of the saidis wairis or merchandeice" (*Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, iv., 136). The exportation of grain, wool, and certain other products was forbidden. Another Act aimed at securing uniformity in the system of weights and measures (*Acts P.S.*, iii., 521). In 1600, the Privy Council gave permission for "ane hundreth famileis of strangeris, being cloth-wirkeris of thair tred to transporte thamselffis within this cuntrey" with a view to the development of a new industry (*Register of the Privy Council*, vi., 123). It should here be observed that, hitherto, wool had been exported, cloth being imported in exchange.

So zealously was the improvement and extension of the foreign trade of the country taken up in some quarters, that, with a view to enhancing the dignity of the status of a Scottish merchant, the Edinburgh authorities quaintly commanded that merchants trading abroad should be respectably clothed, and that their exported goods should be of such a quality as should suffice to show that they were men of a certain position in the commercial world (*Burgh Records of Edinburgh*, ii., 151).

Fynes Moryson, an English traveller, who paid a visit to Scotland in 1598, observes that "the chief traffic of the Scots is in four places, namely, at Campvere in Zealand, whither they carry salt, the skins of wethers, otters, badgers, and martens, and bring from thence corn. And at Bordeaux in France, whither they carry cloths and the same skins, and bring from thence wines, prunes, walnuts, and chestnuts. Thirdly, within the Baltic Sea, whither they

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carry the said cloths and skins, and bring thence flax, hemp, iron, pitch, and tar. And lastly, in England, whither they carry linen cloths, yarn, and salt, and bring thence wheat, oats, beans, and like things." He also said that to Ireland were exported "red and pickled herrings, sea-coal, and *aquae vitae*, with like commodities," the imports consisting of yarn and cowshides or silver (Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland*).

There is preserved among the Marr MSS. (*Historical MSS. Commission*, Vol. 68, pp. 70-74) a paper giving an abstract of the state of Scottish trade for the year 1614, some little time that is to say before the ill-effects of the Regal Union were so far developed as to be destructive of the commercial life of the country. The figures given by this source may therefore be taken as roughly representative of the state of Scottish trade at the opening of the century. The writer of the Memorandum in question divides Scottish exports into four classes, viz. :—

- (1) "The wairris and commodaties that the land yeildis yeirlye"; these again are divided into four groups—(a) "Victuel and viverris," consisting of wheat, barley and malt, oats, flour, bread, beef, and *aqua-vitae*, amounting in value to £37,693 Scots, of which oats, wheat, barley, and malt cover all but £977; (b) "hyddis" (salt and deer hydes), amounting in value to £66,630, nearly twice the value of the "victuel and viverris"; (c) "skynnys," to the value of £173,117, of which sheep skins

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accounted for £143,199; (d) "the commodaties of the land," wool, feathers, Orkney butter, lead, coals; value £98,720, of which wool accounts for £51,870. Total value, £376,160.

- (2) "The commodaties that ar maid and wrocht in the countrie quhairby the peopill ar sett to labour." Thirteen industries are enumerated, of which the principal, with their respective values, are—Salt (£39,780), cloth and plaiding (£59,574 18s), linen cloth (£11,550) linen yarn (£33,331 4s), knitted hose (£10,755 16s), and gloves (£12,300). The other industries mentioned are coarse cloth, dressed leather, leather points, sewed cushions, bed-ticking, and shoes, the total value of these trades coming to nearly £169,097, of which cloth and plaiding contributes more than one-third, salt nearly one-quarter, and linen yarn nearly one-fifth. These were, at the time this Memorial was written, the three chief products, as had been the case for centuries. "Plaiding" consisted of a coarse woollen cloth made in all parts of Scotland, and employed more people than any other native industry.
- (3) "The commodaties that the sea renderis yeirlie," gave a total value of over £153,354. Herrings and salmon account for £99,760 and £47,208 respectively, the balance being contributed by barrelled fish, dried and packed fish, and fish oil.

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- (4) "The foirrane wairis that ar brocht in the countrie and ane pairtt thairoff transpoirtted agane" (value, £39,056) were made up of "walx" (£25,440), rye (£1,335), "greit saltt" (£1,744), "auld brass" (£1,746 6s 8d), "daillis" (£2,960), "Inglis claythe" (£1,424), pick and tar (£1,386), and lesser items.

The totals for the various categories given in this paper of 1614 are incorrect in some respects, owing to the omission of certain items for which corrections have been made in the figures given above. The total value for the four classes I have tabulated comes to over £737,667 (Scots), which represents the value of the Scottish export trade for the year mentioned, and, approximately, that for some previous years.

Let us now consider the effects of the Regal Union of 1603 upon Scottish trade. Although the Privy Council continued its encouragement of the home trade, Scottish commercial interests abroad were, as we have already seen, mainly left to the tender mercies of English Ministers. It was inevitable that under these discouraging circumstances, Scottish trade should decline heavily. As one example out of many, the Scottish Coal trade in Flanders may be mentioned. Scottish coal had a great reputation in that country, but the price was excessive owing to the high duties "and to the remissness of the English consuls there, who, while taking their fees off the Scots goods, do not maintain the privileges of the Scots." (*Marr MSS.*, p. 213); the English consul at Bridges refused to seek redress. Then again, the ecclesiastical wars

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(partly traceable to the Union of the Crowns), the wars with England, and the inveterate jealousy of English merchants, all tended to destroy trade and depress commerce. As regards the last-mentioned obstacle to a flourishing commerce, the following example of the difficulties under which Scottish trade lay may be given. Not long after the Union of 1603, James VI. endeavoured to secure privileges for certain groups of Scottish traders, who had established a whaling company, an East India company, and others; but, as Mr. Andrew Lang caustically observes, "there was always a pre-existing English company, whose rights stood in the way." The Scottish companies had to give way to the pressure applied by English trade jealousy; their patents were recalled, and they lost heavily financially in consequence.

By the end of the seventeenth century the population of Glasgow had not only greatly declined, but its prosperity was so much decayed that many of the more considerable dwelling-houses were unoccupied, and those which were occupied were rented at one-third of their former figures. "The history of the previous hundred years (previous to the Union of 1707) is for Scotland (says Dr. Mackinnon) a history of decline—decline in material prosperity as well as in national influence. A century of English interference, religious dissension, and international friction had reduced the country to beggary and impotence. Contemporary writers are unanimous in charging the political system, established in 1603, as the main cause of the national depression that culminated in the poverty and misery of the last decade of the seventeenth and the opening years of the eighteenth centuries." (*Union of England and Scotland*, p. 15).

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At this juncture, it may be interesting to give, in some detail, the opinions of one of our contemporary authorities, Fletcher of Saltoun, who, writing in 1698, expresses himself in the following fashion :—

Partly through our own fault, and partly through the removal of our Kings into another country, this nation, of all those who possess good ports and lie conveniently for trade, has been the only part of Europe which did not apply itself to commerce ; and, possessing a barren country, in less than an age, we are sunk to so low a condition as to be despised by all our neighbours, and made incapable to repel an injury, if any should be offered, so that now our motto may be inverted, and all may not only provoke, but safely trample upon us (*Political Works*, p. 81).

Further on in the same work (pp. 385-6), he writes (1703) :—

The trade of Scotland was considerable before the Union of the Crowns. . . . Our trade was formerly in so flourishing a condition that the shire of Fife alone had as many ships as now belong to the whole Kingdom : that ten or twelve towns which lie on the south coast of that province had, at that time, a very considerable trade, and in our days are little better than so many heaps of ruins : that our trade with France was very advantageous by reason of the great privileges we enjoyed in that Kingdom : that our commerce with Spain had been very considerable, and began during the wars between England and that nation ; and that we drove a great trade in the Baltick with our fish, before the Dutch had wholly possessed themselves of that advantageous traffick. Upon the Union of the Crowns, not only all this went to decay, but our money was spent in England, and not among ourselves ; the furniture of our houses and the best of our clothes and equipage were bought at London : and, though particular persons of the Scots nation had many great and profitable places at Court, to the high displeasure of the English, yet that was no advantage to our country, which was totally neglected, like a farm managed by servants, and not under the eyes of the master.

Such is Fletcher's account of the condition of Scottish trade after the injurious tendencies of the

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Regal Union had begun fully to operate. He does not refer in this connection to the commercial revival of the closing years of the seventeenth century, alluded to below, characteristically dwelling only upon the dark side of the picture.

The Dutch had been for centuries Scotland's best paying customers, yet the Regal Union forced Scotland into the two wars between England and Holland in the reign of Charles II. As Scottish seamen preferred to leave their country rather than engage in England's wars to Scotland's commercial loss, the Privy Council issued regulations following on instructions from London, prohibiting emigration, and ordering the seizure of able-bodied seamen. But this was easier said than done, as the distracted Privy Councillors soon found out. (*Privy Council Register*, 3rd Series, Vols. I.-V., several references).

With reference to Fletcher's remark that the Dutch captured our fishing trade, it is interesting to note that after the ecclesiastical wars were come to an end, Scotsmen were compelled to carry on in *Dutch vessels* the little that was left to them of the once flourishing foreign trade of the early days of James VI.

Vessels built and owned in Scotland were few indeed in the days that marked the decline of our trade, the Glasgow merchants of those times owned but fifteen vessels, with an aggregate tonnage of 1,182 tons, significant figures when we bear in mind the remarkable development of the Scottish mercantile marine that took place in the earlier days of the celebrated ship-builder, Andrew Barton. The ecclesiastical wars were the primary cause of the decay of the fisheries.

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Such were some of the evil effects of the Regal Union of 1603, and, in passing, it is proper to remark that other things besides trade languished in the seventeenth century. Literature, for example, fell upon evil days, and culture generally was at a low ebb. Fortunately for Scotland, however, the closing years of the century saw the end of the "ecclesiastical brawls," to use Mr. Andrew Lang's expression. The cessation of these ruinous troubles caused the nation once more to turn its attention to the pursuit of commerce, and, in spite of the other obstacles and handicaps alluded to, that is to say, lack of Scottish commercial representatives abroad, and the ever-present jealousy of English merchants, a commercial revival, having its spring in the energy and ability of the Scottish merchants, arose, and received some measure of encouragement from Parliament and the Privy Council. In 1661 (a few years before the trade revival took place), Parliament made an attempt to combat the evil days on which the fisheries were fallen by passing an "Act for the fishings and erecting of companies for promoteing the same" (*Acts Parl. Scot.* vii. 259). In the same year, an Act was passed "for encourageing of shiping and navigation" (*Acts* vii. 257), whilst another appointed a "Councill for Trade" which was empowered to take the necessary steps "for regulateing, improveing, and advanceing of trade, navigation and manufactories," with power to establish several companies (*Acts* vii. 273). In February, 1681, the Standing Committee on Trade of the Privy Council "called for and heard severall of the merchands to give their advyce anent the causes of the decay

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of trade, and what they would propose for the remeid thereof" (*Privy Council Register*, 3rd series, vii. 652). In September of the same year, the Privy Council approved a "supplication by Alexander Brand, merchant in Edinburgh," for the grant of a monopoly for the manufacture of gilded and stamped leather, an industry new to Scotland (*P.C. Reg.* vii. 190). The same body also approved another "supplication" by George Sandry, burgess of Edinburgh, for the grant of a monopoly for the "twisteing of silk which hes never hitherto been practised in this Kingdome, and may keep many persones at work, and keep a considerable stock of money within the Kingdome" (*P.C. Reg.* vii. 321). The Privy Council also encouraged the construction of bridges and harbours with a view to the development of trade, both at home and abroad, authorising the construction of a bridge at Portnessock, near Port Patrick, for the encouragement of trade with Ireland, and some improvements to the harbour at Aberdeen (*P.C. Reg.* vii. 345, 483). About this time, too, nearly all the important seaports applied to Parliament for permission to impose taxes for the building or improvement of harbours.

In 1681, a scheme of Protection was inaugurated, Parliament forbidding the importation of "any forraigne holland, linnen, cambrick, lawn, calligo, and all other forraigne cloaths and stuffs made of linnen or cottoun wooll or lint" (*Acts P.S.* viii., 348). Another Act forbade the export of raw and unwaxed cloth, except plaiding, and all kinds of hides, woollen and linen yarn. Foreign raw materials, however, were admitted duty free. In 1681, a cloth company was

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started at New Mills, now Amisfield, in East Lothian, and after it had been established about nineteen years, was able to pay a dividend of eighteen per cent. Unfortunately, the cloth manufactured by the company was very expensive—whence no doubt the high dividend.

In the last decade of the seventeenth century, Acts in favour of several industries, some of them representing new trades, were passed, the year 1695 being somewhat remarkable in this respect. In that year, an Act was passed in favour of Alexander Fearn for an engraving establishment at Edinburgh. Other Acts provided for the establishment of a ropework manufactory at Glasgow (Patrick Houston's), with a capital of £40,000 Scots, a sawmill (William Scott's) at Leith, and Robert Douglas's manufactory in the same town for the making of soap, sugar, and starch. An oil manufactory, and a gunpowder manufactory, the first of its kind in Scotland, were also started in the same year. The same year, too (1695), witnessed the incorporation of the Scots White Paper Manufactory, besides being remarkable on account of the establishment under Act of Parliament of the first Scottish Bank. With a subscribed capital of £1,200,000 Scots, in shares of £1000 each, this institution began its prosperous career under the style and title of "The Governour and Company of the Bank of Scotland."

In 1696, new sugar works were started in Glasgow, older works having been established in 1667 and 1683. But, unfortunately, the succeeding years witnessed a considerable falling off in respect of the number of

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new companies established, a result which was doubtless due to the locking up of much capital in the Darien Scheme, concerning which I need only remark here that its failure was largely due to the stupid jealousy of the English merchants. Probably another contributing cause was the financial depression due to the miserable harvests consequent on the severe climatic conditions in the seven "hungry years" from 1695 onwards. In 1697, however, there was set on foot a new business for the winding, throwing, twisting, and dyeing of all kinds of raw silk. In the following year, too, a woollen manufactory was established at Aberdeen, and one at Glasgow not long afterwards; while yet a third was established in Berwickshire. The production of woollens was then, as now, one of the chief industries of the Kingdom, and spinning was the occupation of great numbers of women, rich and poor. In 1700, the Glasgow merchants set on foot proposals for the starting of two new works, one being for the manufacture of shipping requisites such as cordage and canvas, and the other for the manufacture of pins, needles, knives, scythes, shears, and so on. A little before this time, several glass works were established, and in addition to those mentioned above, many other new industries were established.

In the seventeenth, as in the previous century, the Scottish Government greatly encouraged skilled foreign workmen to settle in the Kingdom for the purpose of training and instructing native workmen in their respective trades. For instance, as early as 1675, French workmen were brought over to help in

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the foundation of a paper manufactory which was situated on the Water of Leith. Four years later, the mill-owners were able to report that they could produce "grey and blue paper much finer than ever was done before in this Kingdom." About 1695, French refugees settled in the capital in such numbers that they gave the name of "Little Picardy" to a part of Edinburgh. By Act of Parliament, these foreign craftsmen enjoyed "the benefite of law, and all other privileges that a native doeth enjoy" (*Acts P.S.* viii. 348).

Until 1707, the disastrous year in which a base English intrigue caused its temporary disappearance from the political stage, the Scottish Parliament continued its efforts on behalf of Scottish trade. The Statute book of that period is crowded with legislation bearing on commerce. Some of the methods and schemes adopted were not, doubtless, the wisest that could have been pursued under the circumstances in which the trade of the Kingdom was then placed, but there can be no doubt as to the good intentions of the promoters of this abundant legislation. At the very last sitting of Parliament (March 25th, 1707), the royal assent was given to an Act for the "Encouragement of the Manufacture of Wooll," ordaining that "hereafter no corpse of any persone of what condition or quality soever shall be buried in linen of whatever kind . . . plain woollen cloath or stuff shall only be made use of in all tyme comeing" (*Acts P.S.* xi. 487). The somewhat funereal character of the encouragement given on this occasion cannot be regarded otherwise than as having been in full harmony with the melancholy event of which this Act was pathetically prophetic.

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Thus we see that, in spite of the difficulties created by the Union of the Crowns, and in many cases in spite of factious opposition of English merchants, Scottish commerce was again beginning to be in a promising condition in the early years of the eighteenth century. If the Union of 1707 had not come to blast these hopes, and to injure and destroy the trade of the country, probably profitable work would have been found for the 200,000 vagrants, mentioned by Fletcher of Saltoun (*Polit. Works*, pp. 144-5). In any event, the commercial setback caused by the "Union" of the Parliaments would not have occurred, and the country generally would have been in a more flourishing state.

Apparently there are still a certain number of Scots (perhaps "North Britons" would be a more appropriate appellation for them), who entertain the mistaken idea that the "Union" of 1707 brought immediate prosperity, commercial and otherwise, to Scotland. Let us, therefore, briefly consider the facts of the case, according as they are set forth, not in the undisciplined imaginations of latter-day Unionists, but by the clear light of history. In the first place, one important and immediate result of the great betrayal was, that Scotland was inflicted with a far heavier load of taxation than was the case in pre-Union times, besides being burdened with a greater number of revenue duties. In consequence, too, of the Union, scores of irritating restrictions were laid on Scottish trade. The trade with France was lost, and that with Spain, Portugal, and the Mediterranean became insignificant, as Patrick Lindesay, Lord Provost of Edinburgh, pointed out in 1733. Moreover, the com-

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petition with England entailed by the Union, brought about the collapse of the cloth companies, including that at New Mills, and other important industrial undertakings. The salt duties imposed by England caused the practical stoppage of the deep sea fishings. Formerly, between two and three thousand boats had been employed in the fisheries off the Fifeshire coast, in the Firth of Clyde and the Moray Firth. And so great were the returns from these that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the profits from the Scottish fisheries almost equalled in value the combined profits of all the other industries, many of which were very important. But after the Parliamentary Union, affairs in this respect wore a very different face. "Crail, Anstruther, and Pittenweem fell into stagnation, while in the offing were Dutch busses catching the fish before the fishermen's eyes. As late as 1750, while the Dutch had 150 vessels fishing off the coast—working what they called their 'gold-mines'—the Scots had only two" (H. G. Graham, *Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century*, ii., 242).

Until about the second half of the eighteenth century, the disastrous financial and commercial effects of the Parliamentary Union continued with unabated regularity and a ceaseless severity to depress our country and injure its interests; and if the linen trade was an apparent exception to this rule, the prosperity it enjoyed was much more specious than real, as I shall presently show. Reverting to the fisheries, we find that about the year 1742, thirty-five years after the Union that is to say, Forbes of Culloden, in a letter, probably addressed to the Marquis of

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Tweeddale, the Secretary of State for Scotland, has the following observations to make (*Culloden Papers*, pp. 188, 189) :—

The fishery (he says) has totally failed for some years ; the foreign trade of Glasgow, which is chiefly the West Indian and American, is pinched by the war with Spain ; that of the rest of the country is worse than nothing. . . . The mercat for the serges and stockings of Aberdeenshire has fallen, they say, by reason of the war with Spain ; and there is remarkably less coin to be met with than ever was at any time, within memory known, even in this poor countrey ; occasioned chiefly by the gradual but continuall exportation of our bullion for tea, coffee, and forreign spirits, and rendered severely sensible by the great importation of grain during the late scarcity ; which, falling in with a season when the exchange was considerably against us, raised that exchange so high that *de facto* almost every one who had occasion to make remittances made them in gold, and this circumstance had so thorowly drained the countrey of gold that paper is the only coin that one sees ; and even it is far from being in any tollerable plenty.

With reference to the condition of Glasgow, and that of other considerable towns, it is worth noting that in consequence of the Union, the trade of Culross became so decayed that the stipends of the ministers and schoolmasters could not be paid ; and Fortrose, Cupar-Fife, and other towns were in an equally bad way (*Records Conventions Royal Burghs*, 1711-1738). Aberdeen also lifted up its voice complaining bitterly of a " great decay of trade." In 1772, Pennant found St. Andrews " greatly reduced." In the letter from which I have already quoted, Forbes of Culloden refers also to the state of the revenue. It was (he says) " in such a declining state that the usual expenses of the civil government can hardly be answered." This authority gives the annual expenses as between,

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£51,000 and £52,000, and the revenue as £31,240 (*Culloden Papers*, pp. 189, 190). Moreover, in the same letter, Forbes comments on the "ugly prospect of immediate ruin to our manufactures."

Whig though he was, yet the Lord President saw plainly that participation in England's wars was by no means a profitable business for Scotland, as the above quotations should suffice to show. Indeed, this fact was so commonly recognised that the greatest difficulty was experienced in getting the youth of the country to join the English army, economic uniting with patriotic motives to dictate this very general attitude. And though for not less than thirty years after the Union, unemployment was so rife that large numbers of young men were obliged to emigrate to the Plantations to find work, yet rather would the flower of the country quit our shores for ever than accept the Saxon shilling. "One outlet for their energies (says Mr. Graham) they markedly ignored—that was the army. The people cared nothing for wars abroad. . . . If a son enlisted it was felt as a family disgrace, and to get him out was the struggle of family honour." Previous to the Parliamentary Union, the Scottish Parliament had claimed the right to decide whether the country should go to war or not, but after that event took place, Scotland was at England's mercy in this, as in nearly all other respects.

Even some few observant and tolerant Englishmen admitted that the Union had affected Scotland most prejudicially. For instance, one, Thomas Newte, of Tiverton, passed the following remarks on this subject:—"During the interval between the Union

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and the commencement (in 1756) of the war that was terminated by the peace of Paris in 1763, Scotland remained in a state of inactivity and languor it is remarked that there is scarcely one good house to be found in that country which was not built either before the first or since the last of these events" (*Tour in Scotland in 1785 by an English Gentleman*, p. 286, 1791 edition). Another Englishman, who travelled to Scotland in 1727, expresses himself as follows:— "The people all over this country (the South-West of Scotland) not only are poor, but look poor; they appear dejected and discouraged, as if they had given over all hopes of ever being otherwise than they are" (*Tour through Scotland by a Gentleman*, p. 69). The same writer notes that a woollen manufactory at Haddington had been hard hit by *post-Union* English competition; and this was but a particular example of the general fate visited upon the Scottish woollen trade. Plaiding, too, was in a very bad way at this period. Formerly one of the principal industries of the Kingdom, it went down in value after the Union by not less than two-thirds! Surely these are strange and inexplicable occurrences if the Union was indeed the abounding commercial success, so far as Scotland was concerned, which its too partial advocates are prone to assume it to have been. Unionists are fond of pointing to the linen trade in proof of their assertions. But, it has to be remembered in this connection that this industry had been for years one of the most considerable and important in the whole Kingdom, and its relative prosperity after the Union cannot be fairly attributed to the small financial assistance

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which it received from the Government after 1726. The comparative prosperity of this trade, as Dr. Hume Brown justly remarks, was "due not so much to the frugal bounty of the Government as to the ardour and improved methods with which the manufacture was carried on" (*History of Scotland*, iii., 200). Such being the case, it is but reasonable to assume that it would have prospered at least as much, if not greatly more so, under the fostering care of a native Government, as it did by reason of the "frugal bounty" of an alien Parliament.

In a book, published in 1733, and entitled *The Interests of Scotland Considered*, Patrick Lindesay, the Lord Provost of Edinburgh already alluded to, gives a few details as to Scottish trade at the period of his *floreat*. To France there was exported at that date only an insignificant amount of salt, lead, salmon, and, occasionally, a little wheat; but there were imported from that country, principally by the "free traders," otherwise smugglers, large quantities of brandy and wine. To Holland, there were sent from Scotland a little lead, and a small quantity of woollen goods, the exports from that country to Scotland consisting of lace, velvet, cambrics, and certain Indian goods. To the Scandinavian and Baltic countries were exported fish, coarse woollens, malted barley, etc. Here, surely, was no very encouraging trade picture after twenty-six years' experience of the supposed manifold blessings of Union with England.

All the contemporary observers from whose writings I have quoted—Forbes, Lindesay, Newte, etc.—Scotsmen as well as Englishmen; all these authorities agree

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not only as to the bad state of *post*-Union Scottish trade, but also in attributing that condition, in greater or lesser degree to the Constitutional usurpation of 1707. The prophecy of Fletcher of Saltoun, who predicted that "the Union would certainly destroy even those manufactures we now have,"—a prophecy which he uttered in course of a conversation with the Earl of Cromarty—was now in a fair way to be verified to the very letter. "Sir, do not unite with us," said Dr. Johnson to an Irishman of his acquaintance, "we should unite with you only to rob you." That learned man knew well the prevailing genius of his countrymen. The privilege of being systematically robbed by the "predominant partner" may appear to some the more considerable when it is associated with the imperialistic exploits of the self-styled defender and champion of small nationalities; but Scotsmen and Irishmen of cool common-sense are hardly likely to endorse this extravagant view of the matter.

The agricultural and commercial developments that took place in Scotland during the latter half of the eighteenth century are not to be regarded as so many effects of the Union of 1707, as zealous, but indiscriminating politicians of the North British School foolishly imagine. It seems as if the apologists for the Union are so bankrupt in argument that they feel themselves obliged to the desperate expedient of referring any change for the better, no matter what its cause, to this most unconstitutional Union, which they have the front to do, in spite of the fact that the improvement of which I here speak did not come to

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pass until half-a-century after that disastrous event. As regards agriculture, it is sufficient here to point out that enclosing, the draining of the soil, better tilling, and improved methods generally, were by no means the invention of the London Parliament, whatever the ignorant and credulous may affirm to the contrary. Further, the slightest investigation should suffice to show that the commercial development of Scotland in the late eighteenth century was due to the commercial aptitude, the inventive faculties, and the perseverance, energy, and resource of Scotsmen themselves, these qualities being potent enough to overcome the many difficulties, obstacles, and disabilities directly traceable to the two Unions. In other words, Scottish trade developed, not because of the Union of 1707, but in spite of it. Again, the invention of the steam-engine and the application of steam to navigation (both due, by the way, to the ingenuity of Scotsmen), together with the general development of machinery, were bound to give, as they did afford, an immense impetus to trade and commerce, Scottish as well as foreign. Are, then, the crazy supporters of the Union so incorrigibly impertinent as to have the front to claim these and other similar inventions as the appointed work of their favourite political *deus ex machina*? If, indeed, they have so much presumption, then I take leave to observe that under national government, the commercial development of this country would not only have come considerably earlier than it did come, but would have gone considerably further than it did go when, at long last, it came.

Thomas Newte, at all events (the native of Devon-

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shire, from whose writings I have already quoted), was under no delusion as to what Scotland might have accomplished had the Scottish Parliament remained in being. "What," he asks (*Tour*, p. 325), "would the face of affairs be in Scotland if the people, as in England, had been made partakers of political power and the ancient race of their Kings had still swayed the sceptre within the precincts of the Kingdom? With these advantages, with a flourishing colony at Darien, and the favour of all the national enemies of England, what progress would they not have made in manufactures, arts, navigation, commerce, and all that gives power and splendour to nations? *Fortunately for England* (the italics are mine) these suppositions were never realised, and both nations are happily united in one fortune and fate, as in one island." The last sentence smacks of the characteristic hypocrisy of the Englishman turned politician. Stripped of all moral redundancy and circumlocution, it plainly means that Newte, like others of his countrymen, rejoiced that the Union had dealt a smashing blow to Scotland, and that England, in trade and politics, had triumphed, temporarily at all events, over her ancient and powerful rival. Consciously or unconsciously, "England over all" is, and always has been, the unrighteous motto of the English unionists.

So far from its being the truth that the Union was a commercial boon to Scotland, the gospel of the matter is that that measure was primarily a commercial gift of the greatest magnitude to England. In the first place, the Union crippled for many years a positively powerful, and, potentially, a still more potent rival.

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Secondly, the Union operated adversely to Scotland, inasmuch as land, in consequence of late eighteenth century developments in agriculture, increased much in value, thereby causing a simultaneous and proportionate rise in rents. After the Union of 1603, the custom arose for the Scottish landlords to spend much of their time in London, a fashion which had the effect of diverting into the pockets of English tradespeople a large proportion of the money represented by their enlarged rent rolls. Furthermore, the commercial development of Scotland, by increasing the wealth of certain classes of the community, brought about a rise, to the detriment of Scottish commercial interests, in the quantity of goods purchased from English manufacturers, as was pointed out as long ago as 1784 by John Knox in a book written by him and entitled *A View of the British Empire, more especially Scotland*. A further grievance chargeable upon the Union was ventilated by Patrick Lindsay, author of *The Interests of Scotland Considered*, to which reference has already been made, who drew the attention of his contemporaries to the ill-effects of absentee landlordism, which became apparent as early as 1733. And, finally, Dr. James Mackinnon well sums up the situation by remarking that Scotland has been a "very appreciable source of profit . . . to England by means of the Union." The same authority also comments on the fact that "after the revolt and independence of the American colonies, Scotland remained the principal mart for English manufactures" (*Union of England and Scotland*, note, pp. 489, 490). Dr. Mackinnon, whose testimony is the more valuable inasmuch as

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he approves the Union on general grounds, further admits that :—

To ascribe all the advances (in commerce, agriculture, etc.) directly to the treaty of Union, as is usually done, is to show a want of discrimination. . . . To ascribe all this to the Union is very far fetched. It would be to assume too much to conclude that Scotland would not have participated in the vast benefits of the inventive spirit of her own sons, if there had been no incorporating Union. There is as little reason for this assumption as in the case of other small European countries like Belgium, Holland, or Denmark, which have shared so richly in the vast industrial progress of Europe. Had Scotland remained independent of England, its advance within the last century and a half would probably have been no less striking. Belgium and Holland have been often exposed to the menace of invasion from France ; nevertheless, neither country is a whit behind its mighty neighbour in wealth and refinement (*Union*, pp. 487-8).

The natural comment upon this passage is that both Scotland and Ireland are, from their geographical positions, far better situated strategically, and far less liable to invasion, than are the countries named by Dr. Mackinnon. Belgium and Holland are both "*eadar an t-òrd agus an innean*" ("between the hammer and the anvil"), as the Gaelic saying goes, by reason of their respective geographical positions, Belgium having been the "cockpit of Europe" from the earliest times down to the present day. Scotland and Ireland, on the other hand, are not only infinitely better situated for purposes of national defence, but their natural boundaries are better than those of most European countries, and provided the incubus of the incorporating Unions were removed, it is but reasonable to believe that the two Kingdoms would take a prominent place among the smaller nations of Europe.

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In Scotland, the fruits of commercial success under the Union have been very unevenly distributed. Whilst a few have gained vast wealth, many have received but the crumbs that fall from the rich man's table, and the minority not even that. It is not too much to assume that the Scottish Parliament, if its life had not been cut short, would long ago have taken sufficient steps to bring about a more just distribution of wealth. Another unfortunate thing is that the prosperity of the commercial classes has so much intoxicated not only themselves, but the vast majority of Scotsmen, that, forgetful of the lessons of history, the greatest part of the modern nation has come to ascribe the prosperity of the country to the very thing which did so much to depress or injure it—the Union with England. The same cause also has largely contributed to the progressive decline in vigour and popularity of those political ideals touching freedom and liberty and national independence for which our nation was formerly remarkable, and on account of which we were at one time widely esteemed, even by our enemies.

Thus we have seen that Scotsmen, relying exclusively upon their own energies, were finally able to retrieve, in great measure, the commercial disabilities inflicted upon our country by the Union of 1707. The political disabilities remained, however, and will continue to exist as long as the Union endures. The commercial leaders situated in Scotland herself, bent their whole energies to the improvement and advancement of trade. On the other hand, the political leaders, who were not really Scottish leaders at all, since they

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obediently followed the tuck of the English party drums, were drawn to England, where formerly (as now-a-days) they were impotent to prevent English neglect of Scottish business and interests. If the post-Union representatives had followed the advice that was tendered them, and had ceased attendance at Westminster, and, instead, had worked for the political redemption of Scotland in Scotland herself, just as the commercial leaders worked for Scottish trade and commerce within the confines of their native country, what a vastly different tale had been the political story of Scotland since the Union! The relative success of Scottish commerce, and the positive failure of Scottish politics afford one more striking proof of the truth of the maxim that only upon the soil of a nation can that nation's salvation be worked out. Fortunately, however, for the honour and reputation of our country, the present generation is now witnessing a brisk, if tardy, revival of national sentiment, not only as that regards the rightful position of the ancient national language, but in the political province as well. Scotsmen, in ever-increasing numbers, are gradually everywhere beginning to recognise that it is absolutely necessary, in the material interests of the country, and independently of all questions affecting the rights, honour, and dignity of the nation, that Scotland should resume her former position of absolute Independence.

H. C. MAC NEACAIL.

The Days of Other Years



s I passed the gates of a Braemar gathering of a good many years ago, a reflexion occasioned to a celebrated philosopher under somewhat similar circumstances occurred to my mind. It appears that Pythagoras was once asked by a local magnate, who had heard and admired him, what his profession was. The Samian replied that he was a philosopher, which he explained in the following fashion. The life of man, he said, seemed to him to resemble the great games held at Olympia, to which some resorted to acquire honour by taking part in the various trials of skill and strength celebrated on those occasions, others to acquire wealth by trade and barter, and a few (which was the best reason of the many that drew men to that spot) to see and to observe whatever passed. Thus, continued Pythagoras, some men come into the world to seek glory, and some wealth, whilst a minority, despising both, observes and studies nature.

I say that this reputed incident in the life of the great Samian sage occurred to me as I passed the gates of that Braemar gathering of many years ago. But, in making this confession, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I myself set forth no pretensions to be considered as a philosopher. I know something of the drawbacks attending that state of life to which the sage deliberately calls himself, and the same, at

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all events, of the difficulties which those labour under who aspire to set up as men knowing more of the intent and inward meaning of life than does the vast majority of their contemporaries. Yet, the reflexion which I experienced on the occasion I refer to seems to me now, as it did seem so to me then, a perfectly just, proper, and, in a sense, most unphilosophical one. It was, at all events, a most natural one. It was one, too, that must have been occasioned, that glorious autumn day, to many minds besides my own. The link forged by memory between it and the Pythagorean incident I then regarded, and do still consider, as accidental. Mankind holds, and probably has always held, certain ideas in common, which want but the appropriate conjuncture of affairs in order to their invading the mind, from which, in due course, they pass silently away, unuttered, or are, as it were brought to bed of the mind in the form of the spoken word. That is why I desire to disclaim any philosophy for my Braemar initial reflexion. It was, under the circumstances, inevitable. Pythagoras and his figure of the Olympian games were an afterthought, suggested by previous, and for the most part long forgotten, desultory reading. It is as well, therefore, that we should be on our guard against setting up for philosophers, or even pretending to keep company with some of that difficult tribe, when, in reality, we are merely obeying the impulse of a mental process that is common to all humanity: that is common to the very dregs of unphilosophised mankind.

Who could help comparing the little world of that highland fair to, and with, the immeasurably greater

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one of the system in which we dwell and have our being? If all the world is a stage, here indeed was an infinitely reduced replica of it: marionettes, wires, and all. From, too, a sky as spotless as a polished mirror, and as radiantly blue as any Grecian summer sea, the sun poured down his rays upon that truly Olympian-looking amphitheatre, formed by the encircling hills. Moreover, may we not justly divide that little gathering into the two parts into which its great archetype, the world, is susceptible of being divided, ranging the actors on one side of our imaginary division and the crowd on the other? Weré, too, those that had journeyed to Braemar to test their strength and to display their skill, to barter wares, and to acquire wisdom to themselves by seeing and observing whatever passed, less representative of their race and hour, or relatively to the respective sizes of the two gatherings, less meet to be regarded as so many tropes, signs, symbols, and figures of the great world that lay beyond the encircling hills, than were the vast crowds that flocked to Olympia, journeying thither on a very similar errand, in the brave days of ancient Greece? How small is the sum total of human intelligence that is required to rule the world, some philosopher has remarked. How little does the world change in respect of the moral characteristics that distinguish it, might well have been a companion observation on the part of the same mind that framed the preceding reflexion.

So I passed the gates, a philosopher and yet not a philosopher; just one of the crowd, kilted and brogued, and with no more of wit about me than commonly

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suffices to carry a man, at the cost of a trifling outlay, through the easy, and, provided the weather be fine, pleasant ordeal of a highland holiday. Next day I read in the papers the names, and, in some cases, even the addresses, of the persons that composed the *Aite* that assembled on that (to Braemar and district) important occasion. But let me hasten to assure the present reader that I am not about to raise the dead to life by inflicting those past names on him. Accordingly, I strew on their graves in the cemetery of my memory the fragrant petals of recollections pleasant enough, if somewhat contemptuous of caste, and pass to other matters.

Blasé people are apt to complain that highland gatherings are tedious affairs. They say that if you have attended one such meeting you have exhausted the attractions of the rest, for once and for all time. But what would you? These gatherings are not like English sports, which are instinct with the modern life of that people, and are as susceptible of the passing changes of the hour as are their fashions in respect of any of their other forms of diversion, but are stereotyped survivals of manners and customs which, belonging to the days of other years, have now been laid aside for centuries. Tossing the *cabar*, lifting the weight, running, leaping, piping, and dancing: these, doubtless, are some of the commonest forms of manly diversion which we Aryans, whether Celts, Greeks, Latins, or Teutons, have practised in common from time immemorial. They tend to show us that, in spite of diversities of speech, distance, and differences (more apparent than real in most cases) of national

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manners and customs, we all belong to that one great family whose original habitation is said by some to have been in India, and, by others, much nearer the homes which we respectively now inhabit. The glory of Olympia, it is true, has passed away, and latter-day efforts to revive some of it have rather served mildly to interest the newspaper reader, whose mind is attuned to sport and its various activities, than to convince the zealous student and critical admirer of ancient Hellas. As for English sports, it is plain that whatever of olden times and former manners and customs survives in these is, relatively to the whole, insignificant indeed. Successive generations of "Sports Committees" have worked on them, and, moreover, worked on them to such prodigious effect, that they have been brought "up-to-date" in so thorough and drastic a fashion that a Frisian or Jutish competitor, who should rise from the dead to take part in them, would be puzzled to discern in them even the rudiments of the game to which he and his ancestors were accustomed. But whilst time and the innovating hand of man have been busy changing and altering, possibly improving and doubtless softening, the principal features of the common run of English sports, our Celtic games, on the other hand, have stood still. The life, religious and social, as the system of government, into which these festivals fitted, as a part of a child's puzzle fits perfectly into the whole, has long been swept away. Our national games, with some, but by no means all, their pristine picturesque features survive; but the peculiar spirit that inspired them, the civilisation to which they were

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a perfect complement, as the manners and customs that gave them force and point and being, are no more.

Perhaps I shall be told that here is exaggeration. It may be objected to me that these popular gatherings are, in normal times, annually attended by many thousands of men, women, and children, the true descendants of the seed of the Celtic heroes of the days of old; and, further, that the ancient national language of our country still holds sway over a great, if not the greatest, part of rural Scotland benorth the Forth. I dispute neither of these facts; only the justness of the conclusion which I am here supposing my imaginary objectors to be desirous to draw from them. Doubtless, the population of the highlands to-day (as that of the lowlands) is the genuine seed of their population of old. The ancient Scottic language lives, and will, I trust, survive to come into its own again; but neither of these two facts affects the character, or changes the substance, of my argument. I assert that our national games are "dead"; are now mere stereotyped survivals; a sort of archaic posturings; are got cast into a form rigid and conventional in no common degree, and, like some outworn creed or decaying shibboleth, live on, amid the altered circumstances of the times, but to remind those of us who may take the trouble so to expend a little thought of nature's simple remedy for man's crowning affectation of a love for innovation: the periodical reducing all his principles to a few facts and a few ideas, in respect of which what passes with successive generations for new is plainly old, and what is thought to be old is not otherwise distinguished from that which is

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considered as new, save in that it lacks the specious appearances of both. In fine, the figure I should choose for our national games would not be that young and agile dancer, who, with memory's eye, I now see descending the platform amid the plaudits of the crowd, but rather yon old and broken man, who, with bent back, stiffly stands, crutch to breast, gazing with lack-lustre eyes, not at the gay throng that fills the immediate prospect, but, seemingly, through the vista of youth, prime and decline, far beyond it, away to the distant hills of *Tìr-nan-Og*, the ancient's joyous Land of the Days of Other Years.

So, the spirit has departed from our games, leaving nothing behind it but the empty shell, the lifeless form to which the Celtic culture and civilisation early committed it. And if monotony has claimed them for its own, and a stereotyped sameness now prevails, where, formerly, the opposites of those qualities were encouraged so as to ensure their fullest exercise, let us place the blame for that, not on the alleged narrow and inexpansive genius of these institutions themselves, but on the men and spirit of the times, which, perfect strangers to the character of the civilisation which produced our national games, yet retain them and still celebrate them, most un-understandingly, year by year. Lairds and so-called "Chiefs" who, with rare exceptions, know not a word of the language of Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, Dùghall Bochanan, and the Gaelic *litterati* in general; whose conception of the whole duty and status of a Celtic gentleman consists in rendering an hour or two of a summer's day gaudy with his striped apparel; who know nothing, or

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next to it, of the history of their race and country ; who, as a body, have long ceased to practise the virtues which bound them to their clan and their clan to them : simple virtues which alone can explain, as they alone could justify, the abounding sway which the Celtic leaders of the days of other years used to exercise over the lives and fortunes of their gallant followers ; whose feet are more often on Piccadilly pavements than their native heath ; whose ancestors' true and proper " highland pride " has, in their Anglicised descendants, degenerated, in many cases, into a base amalgam of sordid passions in respect of which he is the most esteemed and the most puffed-up amongst his fellows that can drive the hardest bargain, at the cost to himself of the least expenditure of capital, with foreign-shooting tenant or native cultivator ; who, with their own reactionary selves, or by means of servile tools and creatures just as reactionary, and, if it be possible, more objectionable from the point of view of reform and progress, pack the public boards throughout the highlands, on behalf of their own vested interests, so as to secure the undisputed ascendancy of their own political opinions and class prejudices ; of these, I say, and " leaders " such as these, what can be reasonably expected, so far as the little that remains visible to us of the Celtic past is concerned, save ignorance, apathy, want of imagination and sympathy, vanity, selfishness, crass conservatism, a blind and unintelligent attachment to outworn forms and faded ceremonies, and, finally, claims to social distinction and preferential treatment founded, not on merit and knowledge and superior

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parts, but on mere tradition, and that silliest of all excuses, precedence with regard to rank and wealth?

According to Plato, there are three sorts of souls: the curable, the incurable, and the pure. For my part I think that the race of snobs is similarly divisible into three categories. I saw several of what I took to be the second, a few of the first, and many that had obviously been born into the purple, among those that were appointed to do the judging at Braemar on that games-day long ago. The most of those, as their satellites and hangers-on, that were admitted to the seats of judgment had, I suppose, been invited thither because they were titled personages, men of wealth, or, in the case of their henchmen, individuals distantly acceptable to the gentry. There may have been a man or two amongst that brilliant little crowd who knew a pipe-tune from a valse, a set of reels from a London ballroom romp, or a genuine "best-dressed highlander" from the sort of counterfeit presentments thereof which one is apt to associate with the illustrated catalogues of Glasgow outfitters. Let me be just. Some "dark force" or "unseen hand" making, in spite of tremendous difficulties no doubt, for ultimate comparative rectitude of judgment, was undoubtedly present on that occasion, though how, or in what particular shape this Braemar Daniel was brought to judgment, local history deponeth not. Neither can I. The district lairds and "Chiefs," under their brand-new bonnets, adorned with shining silver crests and sprigs of foliage representing the badges of their respective clans (clans, by the way, which they or their ancestors before them had helped mightily to thin in

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favour of sheep, and grouse, and deer), looked so profoundly knowing and so superlatively wise that to cast so much as a single scruple of doubt on the awful omniscience of any one of them would have been the maddest folly, if not blasphemy of the deepest dye. Accordingly, I held my peace and simply marvelled on, when an elderly English lady, who sat next to me, obligingly informed me that a magnificently upholstered individual that I saw occupying a seat on the bench of judges, and whom I knew to be a German Prince in private life, was "the Chief of the Clan." "Chief of *the* Clan"! where, formerly, clans abounded and the hand of each chief was ever ready to be raised against the proud pretensions of his neighbour ruler! nay, the very English cast of the phrase itself: what a pregnant train of thought did that obliging old lady set me on to! Plainly these were no Celtic games that were being enacted before my eyes, in spite of the running, the leaping, the putting the stone, the throwing the hammer, the dancing, and the music, which last carried one back to the days when pipes were not, and the Gael recited his lays and declaimed his epics to the strains of the real national instrument, the harp; but were a belated feudal festival constructed, it is true, of the fragments of a civilisation that had preceded the coming of the Norman to Scotland, but, nevertheless, truly feudal in spirit, and just as much so as regards the effects of it produced in the mind of the discerning spectator. They say that if we wish to discover the origin of chivalry, we must look for it in the feudal institutions, manners, and customs. I believe not a word of this; but sure I am that if we wish to trace

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out the true beginnings of Snobbery, it is to those same manners and customs that we must go. The first real snobs were the armoured knights. I feel sure of that. The Celtic system knew and practised chivalry long before the feudal institution that goes by that name was born or thought of; but when David I., whose "Scottic rust" had been previously scoured away by his rubbing shoulders with high-born Norman knights and dames at the English Court, returned to Scotland, he returned to his own country a largely de-Celticised Prince, stuffed full of silly slavish feudal ideas and notions, a prey to foolish superstitions touching his own kingly dignity and prerogative, a secret enemy to the free democratic institutions of the Gael, and, for these and divers other reasons, more than a bit of a snob. Thus, feudalism and snobbery, the one enforced through the channel of the royal will and mandate, abetted by a crowd of needy Norman titled tools and adventurers, and the other propagated and diffused by means of the powerful social influence of the Court, entered the land, and began to drive out the native institutions, manners, and customs (which the mail-clad snobs stigmatised as "barbarous" because they could not be reconciled with the democratic spirit that characterised the Celtic system and civilisation) from the more settled portions of the country. From these beginnings, it is easy to understand how, in course of time, the spirit of feudalism entered into our Celtic manners and customs, tainting them with snobbery throughout, though not wholly destroying them, corrupting them, and dissociating them from their proper genii, to use the Pythagorean term, though

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loath or powerless to change or abolish the outward and visible forms in which those manners and customs appeared, when first they were subjected to the unkindly influence of the feudal system. It was in the light of reflections such as these, the result of a mental process almost as speedy and as illuminating as the brightest flash, that, all on a sudden, the real character, as opposed to the specious appearances which it wore, of that Braemar gathering of the days of other years was revealed to me. It was in truth, then, merely a belated feudal ceremony, the "accidents" of the occasion, with all their picturesque detail, being supplied by a dead, and, so far as the vast majority of that considerable assemblage was concerned, an utterly forgotten civilisation. Nay, I will go further, and dare to wager that out of the many hundreds that attended that meeting hardly would it have been possible to find one that knew enough of the history of his own country to enable one to say: "Here at all events is a man who is not quite such a dunce as his schooling has been calculated to render him. His general reading is probably little dependable, and his memory for far-off things is not above the average, but at least he knows the rough difference between Celtic and feudal Scotland." But as for the rest, how can they be justly said to have forgotten that of whose existence they were ever as ignorant as the babe at its mother's breast? What they had come out for to see was, whether they wished it, or were sensible of it, or not, a feudal holiday, masquerading in a few borrowed Celtic plumes. The taint of snobbery and class ascendancy that pervaded the gathering

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from first to last probably passed with the crowd, if any part of it was capable of reflection, or conscious of it all, as truly characteristic of those times (very vaguely adumbrated in the minds of most modern Scotsmen, even in the so-called educated sort), in which, according to them, the sole business and occupation of a highland Chief was to be rising or falling with Charlie or somebody else, and the blood of inter-clan squabbles was never absent from the moon.

Tempora mutantur nos et mutamur in illis. I trust the reader will pardon the hackneyed quotation, my excuse for the use of which must be that such well-worn saws are apt to rise unbidden to the mind, and to defy the censor of our nicest taste, whenever circumstances and conjunctures are exceptionally favourable to their utterance. Yes, the times are changed, and we, too, are strangely altered along with them. To the days of other years belongs that Braemar gathering; to the dead past the social state that sanctioned it, impressed its peculiar mark on it, and of which it was a sufficient and a characteristic sign and symbol. In the new Scotland that will arise after the war, a gathering such as yon shall find no place. The old class ascendancy, a relict of the feudal system, is passing rapidly, and will then be entirely gone. New wine is being daily poured into new bottles, there remaining nothing of the old liquor in the ancient flasks save the dregs and the lees thereof, soon to be run off into the gutters as useless stuff, or to be given away to those whose principal satisfaction seems to consist in obtaining little for nothing, and whose greed, rather than whose wants, may lead them to take the trouble to ask for it.

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But men must play as well as work. Democracy lays no ban on healthy and manly amusements. On the contrary, true democracy delights in them and encourages them, as being good for mind and good for body. But with feudal snobbery, as with the dismal cant of kill-joy Puritanism, it will hold no terms. It will out upon them, and rend and destroy them utterly both. In the new republic, our venerable national games must be preserved, and their vogue extended. A new spirit, or rather the old one revived, refined, enlarged, and improved, must be inspired into them, so as to make them in all ways answerable to the genius as well of the Celtic source from which they sprang as to that of the democratic times in which we live. To this end, the old landlord juntas, which used to have the exclusive ruling of these feudal roosts, must be broken up, and their members ejected from the seats of judgment. For my part, I hope to live to see the day when "Bob" Smillie will be in universal request as a judge of "best-dressed" Gaels, and the Editor of *Forward* in just as much demand as a critic of the nice art of tossing the *cabar*. And pray, why not? I would joyfully back the intelligence of these men, and their like, against the collective knowledge and the judgment of a whole army of kilted titled feudal snobs: men, who, with rare exceptions, take no interest whatever in the language, history, and antiquities of their country, are completely indifferent to its national rights and liberties, are saucy and stupid despisers of popular rights and interests, and have no sort of use for or sympathy with the days of other years, save in so far as the spirit of them can

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be seduced to infuse a little life into their own ridiculous class pretensions and feudal posturings. Away with them ! They have too long cumbered the ground of the *real* Scotland : the free and independent Scotland of the Celtic democrats of old.

ÆNEAS J. MACDONALD.



Where Our Food Goes To



HE clumsy immortal who defined oatmeal as "horse's food in England and men's food in Scotland" would find little justification for his *jeu d'esprit* in the present day of grace, when Englishmen are searching over the length and breadth of cold Caledonia for a mess of pottage. What was horse-mash in the palmy days of the Cheshire cheese is now acceptable enough fare to the countrymen of the fat man who symbolised England so well, and if Englishmen are still as ignorant of all things Scottish as was Johnson, they are by no means badly informed as regards the sources of the Scottish food supply. Now they are making every possible endeavour to strip Scotland of its already sadly-depleted stores of food in order that their own larders may not be empty. They exclaim loudly when Germany robs Rumania of her corn and oil, yet they do not hesitate to drain a friendly territory of its life-blood in order that the gentlemen of London may continue in the enjoyment of gargantuan menus, as in the palmy days when England really lived to eat.

The proud supremacy of the Saxon as a trencherman is scarcely to be challenged, and he does not intend that it shall. Food controllers may come and go, but he feeds on for ever. If you tell him that Scotland produces a goodly portion of his food, he will, in the simplicity of his insolence, laugh in your face. If

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you attempt to prove it to him (and for the sake of your own sanity you had better not) he will grow scornful and a little uneasy, as he thinks of Scottish beef, Scottish oats, Scottish salmon, whiskey, herrings, kippers, game, fruit, and the good things for which he obviously draws upon us. But the several inept bureaucracies which he has of late recognised as having dominion over him have at least the English faculty of seeing on which side their bread is buttered, and that is why there are to-day no potatoes in a land of potatoes, no fish in a country whose seas teem with fish, and that provisions in Scotland are nearly one-fourth dearer than in England.

This diversion of the natural food supply of Scotland to English markets by no means dates from days of war. It is an evil of long standing. The primest beef, the noblest salmon, the best game, the finest fruit, all formerly found, and still find, their way to London. Wherefore? Because English customers pay enhanced prices for them? No, for the prices of these goods on the soil which produces them are roughly 25 per cent. more than in London. Lest it be said that we receive an equal amount of foodstuffs from England, it must be pointed out that England is a country that produces not nearly enough foodstuffs for herself, and certainly no surplusage ever reaches the Scottish border. It is the universal complaint of English residents in Scotland that the price of food within its borders is excessive, and this applies more especially to those commodities which the country produces, rather than to such as are imported. A brief residence in London will speedily convince any

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Scot, as it convinced the present writer, of the justice of the observation that food in the "metropolis" is greatly more moderate in price than in, say, Edinburgh or Glasgow, and that not because of any superabundance of production in England, which is notoriously a non-producing community as far as food is concerned (as is well proven at the present juncture), but solely because of the artificial diversion to its market of the food supplies of half the world. A correspondence initiated in an Edinburgh evening paper some years ago proved up to the hilt that provisions were considerably dearer in Scotland than in England, many English writers corroborating the contention.

In ordinary times Scotland's alimentary wealth signifies not so much to its great hungry neighbour, but at such a time as the present it becomes an asset of the first importance, and England of the neglected and hungry acres, shut off from her normal food sources, observes the comparative wealth of Scotland in food-stuffs, and takes measures accordingly.

Therefore His Grace The Duke of Atholl is commissioned by Mr. Kennedy Jones to appeal to the countrymen of them both to abstain from gluttony, in order that English mouths may be full! Let us see what Scotland yields to England in the way of food, normally and in war-time.

Fish.—The fisheries are notoriously a great source of Scotland's wealth, yet until recently they were hedged in by Admiralty regulations even more absurd than most of the mandates which emanate from that especially feckless department. When it was found, however, that London breakfast-tables were depleted,

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and the second course at London hotels suffered, all haste was made to withdraw these restrictions, with the result that between sixty and seventy tons of fish are placed every morning upon the trucks of the North British Railway for transference to the London market, and this notwithstanding that the fish-shops of Edinburgh are nearly as bare as Mother Hubbard's cupboard. The two shops which serve the large and wealthy residential district in which the present writer lives are day by day provided with such miserable "podles" as boys hook from pier-heads in the fishing villages of the east coast, and, should better fare be asked for, such prices are requested as would startle a Croesus. Yet the industry which Englishmen benefit from so greatly is cruelly hampered by want of suitable harbour accommodation on the east coast, and if such is ever obtained it is only after years of strenuous battling on the part of the local member of Parliament. The following paragraph, which appeared in *The Scotsman* of Friday, May 11 last, should surely be sufficient to open the eyes of Scottish people to the wholesale exploitation of their fish supply:—

The importance of making the fullest use of the catches of the Scottish fishing fleets, in connection with the conservation of food, is now receiving careful attention in Government quarters. One of the chief problems is the speedy transport of fish from the ports at which the catch is landed to the great markets. This difficulty is accentuated by the curtailment of the railway services, owing to shortage of labour, and other causes. A Committee was recently appointed by the Secretary for Scotland to consider the means by which, under existing circumstances, the greatest quantity of food can be made available from the Scottish sea fisheries for home consumption. Several sittings have been held in London; and yesterday the Committee sat in Edinburgh, at the offices of the

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Scottish Fishery Board. Mr. J. E. Sutherland, M.P., the chairman, presided, the other members of the Committee being Provost Malcolm Smith, Mr. H. S. Moss-Blundell, Mr. P. J. Rose, Paymaster D. T. Jones, R.N.R., and Mr. Arthur Towle. Distributors and curers in the Edinburgh district were heard in connection with the transport questions, the proceedings being in private. The Edinburgh sitting was concluded yesterday afternoon, and the Committee sit to-day in Aberdeen. They will also visit in the course of the week, Peterhead, Fraserburgh, and Buckie.

Note that this Committee hails from London; that never did London evince any interest in the Scottish fish supply, and that the hungry English and Anglo-Scots who sit on the Committee were in consultation with traders in the Edinburgh and Aberdeen districts.

Game.—Game constitutes one of the great natural food supplies of Scotland, yet how much of it is consumed in the country? It is notorious that in no markets in Europe is game so dear, or so scarce, as in the large towns of Scotland. Grouse, partridges, venison, ptarmigan, blackcock, and pheasant shot in Scotland can be purchased in English markets greatly cheaper than in Edinburgh or Glasgow. We heard of late that the Scottish landowners were to institute great drives in the Highlands for the purpose of "supplying the people with cheap food." Supplying what people? Certainly not those of Scotland, for in Edinburgh venison is dearer than ever, and game simply not to be had. The Duke of Atholl tells us that one deer forest supplied 80,000 lbs. of venison. Will he acquaint us with the destination of the provender? If we include salmon as game, its story is even more notorious, for we all know that when it

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sells in London at one shilling a pound, one and sixpence to one and ninepence or even two shillings is demanded for it in Scotland.

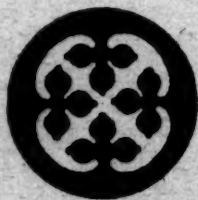
Potatoes.—The recent scandal regarding the potato supply of Scotland is fresh in the public mind. English agents were permitted to purchase the entire supply of Scottish potatoes for seed, with the result that Scotland has none left either for alimentary or agricultural purposes. This abominable crime was excused on the ground that potatoes required a periodical change of soil, and that the tubers had been brought from Scotland to England for the benefit of their health! Had Germany seized the crops of Rumania wholesale, such a howl would have arisen as would have shaken Europe. Yet we are informed that the two cases, reality and supposition, are not on all fours! Why not? "Oh, England paid for the potatoes." There are some things which, in common decency, should neither be bought nor sold, and in this category may be placed the seed which is to furnish the future food supply of a country. To barter the bread of a people is an unspeakable crime, and the misers who sold, and the bandits who "bought" should be summarily dealt with, for through their act thousands of poor Scottish women and children have been robbed of a food which is so valuable and habitual to them as to admit of no substitute. It may be asked where was that invaluable body the Scottish Board of Agriculture, to permit such an atrocity? That question must now be replaced by another. Where *should* the Scottish Board of Agriculture be? Why, where the Byzantine War Office and that wide-awake body the Athenian Areopagitic Council are, of course!

Where Our Food Goes To

Fruit.—It has long been known that the most of the Scottish fruit supply goes to England. Nearly every summer there is a glut of Scottish fruit in the London market, and home prices remain unaltered. I have seen Scottish strawberries sold at one penny per basket in London, when the same fruit was priced at sevenpence in Scotland, and Scottish hot-house grapes, usually sold in Scotland at four shillings per pound, I have seen vended in the streets of the west end of London for twopence per bag.

It is surely obvious that a Scottish National Food Committee is required which should have as its object the retention of the Scottish food supply within the Scottish borders. The personnel of that Committee should consist of men upon whom the Scottish people can rely, and not of Landowners and Anglo-Scots, whose sole aim is the exploitation of the resources of our seas, glens, and gardens.

LEWIS SPENCE.



Whus'lin' Geordie

[We are obliged to our contemporary, *The Scottish Farm Servant*, for permission to reproduce the following two poems in these pages. That admirably written journal is frequently adorned with such gems as "Whus'lin' Geordie" and "A Lassie Greet."]

The lav'rock whus'les lood an' cheerie,
Soarin' in the lift sae high,
He whus'les a' to please his dearie—
But Geordie, he gaes whus'lin by.

Geordie's whus'lin, late an' early ;
There's no' a cloud in Geordie's sky ;
But O, ma hert gaes duntin' sairly,
Whin Geordie, he gaes whus'lin by.

Geordie's horse is a' his care,
Their manes he does wi' ribbon tie,
Broun an' bonnie is ma hair—
But Geordie, he gaes whus'lin by.

Snod an' trig I braid my hair,
Afore I gae to ca' the kye ;
I busk masel' wi muckle care—
But Geordie, he gaes whus'lin by.

Whus'lin' Geordie

Blue an' bonnie is my e'e,
Bonnie blue like summer sky,
But Geordie has nae e'e for me,
Geordie, he gaes whus'lin by.

There's mony a lad, baith guid and kindly,
Fain wi' me wid coortin' try,
Why is't that I should luv sae blindly
Geordie, wha gaes whus'lin by ?



*A Lassie Greet*s

Johnnie has gane to fecht the Hun
With a hey and a ho, a sword and a gun ;
And he was a widow's only son,
Mithers hae grat sin' the warld begun.

The lassie dreams when her work is done,
Sing hey, ho, my luve is bonnie ;
She has no wish to be a nun—
Hey, ho, my ain dear Johnnie.

The postman cam' at evening late,
With a hey, hey, ho, at the set o' sun ;
Bringing the news o' Johnnie's fate,
Sing hey, sing ho, for the battle won.

" He was the bravest of the brave,"
Sing hey, sing ho, for the glory won ;
" Now he lies in a hero's grave,"
Sing low, sing low, his coorting's done.

There's a mither weeps for an only son,
Sing hey, sing ho, for war and glory ;
There's a lassie greets owre a luve dream gone,
Ohone, ohone, for his fair hair gory.

SANNY M'NEE.

Wanted: A National Trade Bank



It was only the other day that I asked one of our few active representatives, "Do you Scottish M.P.'s ever meet and discuss matters affecting Scotland?" and his answer was, "The Unionist members do, but the Seventy-two never meet."

It struck me as very singular that in an assembly wherein Irishmen of all parties, Welsh, and Labour men are very attentive to their several political interests, and act in concert to secure national aims, Scots, who are said to be so clannish, should take such small collective interest in their country's well-being.

If ever there was a time when to act on a common footing, and to sink party feeling, was the duty of our Scots parliamentarians, the present moment is surely one of which it may be truly said that here is just such a juncture. For, who can fail to be alive to the great economic war which will begin whenever the day of Peace dawns?

Even for purely personal reasons, and considering the imminence of a General Election, one would have thought that if our seventy-two "400-pounders" wish to return to St. Stephen's they would be only too glad to seize the present opportunity of doing something to protect Scottish interests, and so to justify their re-election. But it does not appear that national interests interest them. Often have

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they all been invited to the wedding, but as yet there has been no appreciable response, or only flimsy excuses have been tendered.

Now, the situation regarding the preparations to meet the economic struggle that is certain to occur after the war are in exactly the same state as were the military preparations before it began. That is to say, that situation is by no means adequate to the occasion.

Let us first consider the forces ranged against us, and then look at our own preparations.

We are menaced not with one organisation, but by a Pan-German National System of "peaceful penetration." Begun in 1870, this system has been engineered and supported by the German Government, whose Ambassadors, Consuls abroad, and political officials at home are all active agents of the same, and are officials with whom no enterprise is too small to receive attention.

There are, it is said, about 20 Trades Banks, which are all engaged in this same highly-organised scheme. Backed up by their Government the financial resources of these enemy Banks are enormous. Let us consider the resources of the three principal concerns that are best known to us :—

Estab.		Capital Subscribed.	Paid up.	Reserve.	Dividend.
1870	Deutsche Bank,	£12,500,000.	£10,500,000	£9,000,000	12½ %
1851	Disconto Gesellschaft,	£15,000,000	£15,000,000	£6,000,000	10 %
1872	Dresdner Bank,	£10,000,000	£10,000,000	£3,050,000	8½ %

These Banks have about 50 years start of us, and have much experience behind them, besides having at their disposal organised branches and agents ready

Wanted: A National Trade Bank

to resume operations the moment peace comes. With the command of £51,000,000 capital they are further assisted by unlimited Government support.

Now, compare these hostile forces with the conceptions of our own "leaders" touching the manner in which the coming great German financial "push" is to be met and countered.

In Scotland, although our M.P.'s have been pressed to act, and Chambers of Commerce have been called on to move, yet nothing, so far, has been done, while the days of grace are rapidly running out.

In England, after long deliberation, it is now proposed to establish one Institution to contend with twenty!

This Institution is to have a nominal	
capital of	£10,000,000
It is proposed to raise	£2,500,000
The concern is authorised to begin	
business with	£1,000,000

Truly, if this precious scheme had been made in Germany it could not have pleased the Germans better. The idea of putting up £1,000,000, as against the Deutsche Bank's £21,500,000 suffices to show the grasp which those who are handling this matter have of the situation.

Next we have the striking contrast supplied by the attitude of the English Government, which declares that it will not subscribe or subsidise the British Corporation "in anyway whatever." Yet the ink of the subsidy recently made to the Anglo-Italian Corporation is hardly dry!

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The Government was lately challenged and charged with creating a monopoly. The President of The Board of Trade, however, declared it was not their intention to do so ; but his predecessor, who appointed Lord Faringdon's Commission, followed saying, "All were agreed that if a scheme of this kind were to be entered upon it should be undertaken by one large central organisation, because it was essential that the institution should be as strong as possible, if it were to compete successfully with the great German Banks."

If Lord Faringdon's is not the monopoly idea, what is it? Whatever the pious intentions of the Government may be, they have given no pledge against that, and on the other hand we have the plain unvarnished declaration of the promoters that it is *essential* that there should be only "one large central organisation."

It is perfectly clear, therefore, that unless Scotland speaks out now, demanding her right to have an Institution of her own, any attempt hereafter to create such a thing will be met with both open and secret opposition.

What earthly chance will our traders have, if they are obliged to go to London for assistance? This question brings me to consider what are the objects which this "British" Corporation is chiefly designed to secure. I was under the impression that its main object was to create and develop small industries, so that they might grow into larger ones ; to increase employment, and foster trade expansion. But what chance, I ask, can our small industries have, if they are obliged to go, hat in hand, to this London "group"?

Wanted: A National Trade Bank

The Ex-President of the Board of Trade said that the Institution was not *intended* to be an exporting Syndicate, and that "it would be easy to limit the charter to financing export firms." This throws some light on the project. Export firms are in need of more or less capital, and their own bankers are quite able and willing to finance them; but what about fulfilling the main purpose of German Banks, which is, building up small industries? A German goes to his bank with a statement of his affairs; the accountants report on his books; experts examine his methods, and then the Bank finances him, appointing a representative to safeguard its own interests. And when the business is more fully developed, the concern is floated into a larger Company, and thus the system rolls on like a snowball. Mr. Annan Bryce, M.P., gave, on 26th April last, the following interesting particulars of the development of three leading German concerns, incidentally showing how Germans carry on their system. He stated that he had seen the balance-sheets for 1915 of

The "Allgemeine" which had a cash	
reserve of 	£7,500,000
The "Siemens-Schuckert" ..	£2,500,000
The "Bergman" ..	£1,500,000

Mr. Bryce also stated that "a great German firm had maintained a factory in England, entailing for the last ten years an annual loss of £100,000, with the express object of keeping prices low in this country, and so preventing that particular industry from being able to compete abroad. The economic war would be renewed by Germany more savagely and unscrupulously than ever, if she could."

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To imagine that one concern with a capital of £1,000,000, or even £10,000,000, can possibly do everything is manifestly absurd, while the design to create a monopoly of it fills one with the gravest suspicions. Certainly nothing could be more advantageous for German interest than that our traders' hands should be tied in this fashion.

We have been told that constructive criticism would be welcomed. I would, therefore, avail myself of the invitation by pointing out that instead of a Charter to a "group," which implies, as in Parliament, the establishment of a certain set or interest, the members of which naturally have their own friends to consider, and honestly say they are going to make very substantial profits, this very important matter should be arranged in a very different fashion. The management of a new system which is intended to be of general benefit ought not to be so arranged as to make for personal power and aggrandisement, but should be regulated by the various Chambers of Commerce of these Kingdoms, which should be held responsible for its conduct.

As the matter stands at present no redress or appeal from the decision or the neglect of this new body, which is vested with autocratic power, is provided for. Were it made responsible to Chambers of Commerce there would be every likelihood of grievances being ventilated and justice secured. The Institution is a dangerous experiment as it stands, and is certain to create trouble. That Scotland should stand idly by at this juncture is deplorable. Lord Faringdon is a Scotsman, and owes all he is to her, and so should be the first to acknowledge the greatness of her claim to separate national treatment.

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As to the capital required, the satisfaction expressed at the raising of £1,000,000 is a sign of weakness which is disquieting. To aim at £2,500,000 and rejoice at getting £1,000,000—when £50,000,000 would not be too much if we are to beat Germany in the economic struggle—is not business. The President of the Board of Trade recently said that: "When the war was ended we should need a great deal of foreign money in the country."

What was the motive for that declaration? Considering that these Kingdoms have just lent £900,000,000 to the Allies, where is the point of advertising that we will want "foreign money" to carry on our own business? All this looks very like the bankruptcy of statemanship of which many speak. The money can be raised in these Kingdoms. Scotland can raise all she requires, if the matter is gone about in the right way.

Let us show an example to England, Ireland, and Wales. Each country should have its own National Institution, and one and all should be on a representative footing, and should not be private autocratic concerns, seeking personal gain. As to the position of such an Institution relatively to our Banks, there should be the most hearty co-operation between the two, since their respective spheres would be quite distinct. Thus, the banking business would go on as usual, while the superintendence and development by the Trade Organisation would be of invaluable assistance to those concerns.

If our M.P.'s and Chambers of Commerce will not move, then our Bankers should combine and establish

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such an Institution. So far as the public is concerned, it can matter little to them whose hand goes to the plough, so long as the work is done on broad lines and on an adequate national scale; provided that the requirements of the whole country are duly met, and that there are no hole and corner ends to serve. Thus armed, Scotland would be able to speak with effect to her German trade rival in the gate.

J. HAY THORBURN.



Federalism and Finance

[Pressure on our space prevents me from giving a full translation of Aonghas Mac Eanruig's final paper on the subject of Federalism. I hope, however, that the following rendering will suffice to do some measure of justice to that writer's views on the subject of Finance in relation to the Federal System of Government which it is desired to erect in Scotland after the war.—Ed. *The Scottish Review*].

 **T**HAT which is in every man's mouth is not necessarily true. Everyone says that, the moment the war comes to an end, Scotland will receive her due share of Federalism. Are we obliged to believe all this? For my own part, I am not, at a first glance of this matter, trustful, but distrustful. I have been bubbled too often to repose much confidence in the gentry of the big brave words and the fine luscious promises. Often have I heard large prophecies of this kind indulged, but seldom it is that I have seen them fulfilled. Time after time have I heard every conceivable kind of reform promised our country and our people; but, as every one knows, not one of them so far has matured. Why, therefore, should I be otherwise than sceptical touching what I now hear about Federalism? It is not without good reason that I am of opinion that we shall never get our just rights as regards that matter till we take them, whether others are agreeable to our doing so or not.

But if Federalism is to be ours, by peaceable means or otherwise, it is evident that we must make all

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suitable preparations for it. We must not go about to re-establish our Parliament at Edinburgh without taking due thought as to that matter. Many a point requires to be adjusted, and many a detail requires to be duly accommodated. And of all these weighty matters, the problem of Finance is the greatest and the most complex.

. Wretched is the state of that country that does not enjoy perfect control over its own financial affairs. If a country possesses not that full control, then truly is her freedom a shadow, and her independence a myth. The truth of this maxim is easily to be derived from our knowledge of what obtains in a humbler sphere. That man whose purse is in the grip of another is but a silly loon and half a slave. And this truth is so exceeding well established as regards individuals that scarce is it necessary to advertise it afresh; but, with respect to States and peoples, the same truth is by no means as commonly admitted, so that, in view of that circumstance, I make no apology for here affirming it.

As an illustration of the latter case, let us take that wretched little misbegotten Act which, born before the war, pretends to be a measure of Home Rule for Ireland. Small is the financial control which it foreshadows, and even that little is controlled and hedged about by a number of pettifogging conditions, disabilities, and restrictions. According to the terms of that Act, the English Parliament may at any time impose taxes on Ireland without first seeking and obtaining the consent of the Irish Parliament to that course. Not a penny of the taxes sanctioned by the

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Irish Parliament may be gathered by officials appointed by, or under the control of, the Irish legislature. Every penny of the money so raised in Ireland is to be collected by persons chosen by the English Parliament, who must render to England an account of their stewardship. All monies raised by taxation in Ireland are to be sent across to London, after which being done, the gross receipts will be dealt with by an *ad hoc* Board, which will determine what proportion of the money is, agreeably to the terms of the Act, to be remitted to Ireland for expenditure in that country. This Board of Control is to comprise five persons—three of whom are to be chosen by England and two by Ireland ; and the same Board is to have the sole right of determining the amount of the payments to be made by the English Treasury to the Irish Government. From the findings of this Board (whose *personnel* is to be three-fourths English), the Act concedes to the Irish Parliament no right of appeal to any other Court. In fine, according to the terms of the same much trumpeted Act, Ireland is forbidden to mint money ; to use any other system of weights and measures save that observed in England ; to appoint her own tax-gatherers ; to collect her own taxes ; to pay these taxes into her own Treasury ; to impose taxes on imports other than those approved by England ; and even to enter on a separate footing into trade relations with her own nationals in foreign countries. All these articles, and many more I could name, are forbidden fruit, so far as the Irish Parliament is concerned, and so much is it the case that the Act of which I speak is a simulacrum in all its parts

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that the wonder is that it ever received the assent and approval of Mr. Redmond and his followers, who profess to be Irishmen. In a word, the plain intent of the Act is to give England full control of the Irish finances, on the principle that he in whose keeping is the purse has the most "say" and the best right to call the tune. O the sly knave!

Scotland has no sort of wish or use for a measure of "Home Rule" of that sort. She could not possibly hold any terms with its like. If she is not to recover full control over her own financial affairs it would be better for her to remain as she is, in the toils of the spoiling Egyptians. And this avowal leads us to enquire what sort of financial understanding would best accord with Scottish interests and aspirations. But, before we go about to answer that question, it would be as well to clear the ground by devoting some attention to the financial system under which our country subsists at the present moment.

At the present day there is but one Treasury for the Three Kingdoms, and into this common Treasury all the money raised from taxes imposed in these countries is paid. This system is based on the hypothesis that each of the Three Kingdoms pays its own just proportion of the common expenses by means of taxes whose incidence or casualty is adjusted so that the burden falls equally on each. There are two ways of raising money. The first of these is by taxing people according to the extent of their worldly possessions—their incomes, the value of the houses in which they live, the amount of money bequeathed by them at their deaths, and so on. The second way

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consists in imposing taxes on particular commodities which are general in use among the people, such as tobacco, tea, sugar, wine, ale, whisky, wheeled vehicles, and many other articles. The tendency, however, of the burden of taxation is for it to fall with ever-increasing weight on the shoulders of those whose purses are directly mulcted by the State. Thus, in the year 1871, these classes were not required to pay more than 30 *per cent.* of the total amount raised; but, in 1881, their proportion rose to 35.5 *per cent.*, which was increased in 1891 to 43.5 *per cent.*; in 1901 to 48.8 *per cent.*; and in 1912 to 53.4 *per cent.* These successive increases were occasioned by causes that are deserving of every attention, but as their study forms a separate topic, I do not propose to discuss it here. What I am immediately concerned with is to prove that, under the existing system, the burden of taxation does not rest equally on the Three Kingdoms.

Some years ago Lord Roseberry observed that "Scotland is the milch-cow of the Empire," and that lord never spoke truer words. Our country pays, in the shape of taxes, far more than she should be required to do. A very similar complaint was voiced some years ago by a well-known Edinburgh professor, who, speaking of the Union, said that, under it, Scotland's fate was to receive most of the kicks and fewest of the half-pence; Ireland's to receive most of the half-pence and fewest of the kicks; and England's to receive both in about equal proportions. But this truth is by no means admitted by England, which stoutly maintains that she pays far more than her just share of the money required to liquidate the

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common burdens. In 1912, she informed the world with a prodigious deal of fuss that her contribution, in the shape of taxes, was at the rate of £4 3s 10d per head of her population. Two years after that (in 1914) the English Treasury gave another twist to the wheel by announcing that England was then contributing at the rate of £4 18s 5d *per capitum*; Scotland at the rate of £5 4s 8d *per capitum*, and Ireland, £2 16s 7d, according to the same method of computation. What brought about these remarkable changes? The cause of them was this, that the population of England increased notably between 1912 and 1914, whilst, on the other hand, that of Scotland and Ireland notably declined during the same period owing to emigration. Let us now consider the figures for the year that ended on 31st March, 1915. During these twelve months, England paid into the common Treasury £183,535,000, or 83.17 *per cent.* of the total amount sent to that source; Scotland, £24,742,000, or 11.21 *per cent.* of the whole; and Ireland, £12,389,500, or 5.62 *per cent.* of the total. Of these respective sums, let us now consider what proportion was assigned to each country in order to defray the expenses in connection with Education, Old Age Pensions, Postal services, the collection of the Taxes, and other chargeable matters. England appropriated £66,886,500, or 75.10 *per cent.* of the whole; Scotland received £10,178,000, or 11.10 *per cent.* of the total; and to Ireland, £12,656,000, or 13.80 *per cent.* of the gross amount were granted.

At the first glance it might seem that Scotland fares not altogether badly in respect of the above

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particulars, and even that she receives better treatment than England does. It is easy to prove, however, that this is a false view to take of the matter. In the first place, the greatest part of the money raised by taxation in the Three Kingdoms returns to England, whose trade and industries benefit proportionately. Take, for instance, the vast sums that are annually spent on the Army and the Navy, on the Royal Family, on the Houses of Parliament ; on, and in, the various establishments in which the Government departments are housed ; on the printing and publishing of Government literature ; and in many other ways ; by far the greatest part of the money so expended is spent in England alone, and exclusively benefits that country. And no record whatever is kept of the incidence or casualty of these expenditures when the common accounts are being made up. In 1902, the *Scotsman* newspaper touched on this matter in the following fashion :—

Before the Boer War there were in the United Kingdoms 78 battalions of infantry and 19 regiments of cavalry. Of these, only two battalions of infantry and one regiment of cavalry were stationed in Scotland, a proportion which bears no relation to population. Yet, though the troops are stationed in England, paid in England, fed in England, and clothed in England, Scotland has to pay its proportional share of the cost. . . . The Income Tax collected in England on Official salaries is £980,000, while that collected in Scotland is only £15,000.

Our point of view could scarce have been better expressed.

It will be readily allowed on all sides, I think, that no returns or accounts that are based on the number of persons inhabiting each of the three Kingdoms

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can be just or sure. Such a system cannot possibly be fair to those districts that are less wealthy and less well-circumstanced than others. For instance, it would be absurd to expect the shire of Ross to pay as much by way of taxes as it would be fair and reasonable to expect of Lanarkshire. This capacity of which I speak is not only dependent on the wage-earning capacity of the people, on the extent of their trade, and the qualities of the soil. Mr. Edgar Crammond has published estimates of the wealth and taxable capacity of each of the Three Kingdoms, and according to that sound and industrious authority the taxable capacity of England, Scotland, and Ireland, relatively to one another, is as follows :—

England and Wales,	...	84.1
Scotland,	9.8
Ireland,	6.1

There is here no need to particularise touching the ways and means which have assisted Mr. Crammond to come to the above conclusions. It is sufficient to remark that the latter appear sound enough; and for my part I have never seen them questioned. Mr. Crammond's figures relate to the year 1913, and considering that the population, as the national wealth, of Scotland, has declined since then, whilst, on the other hand, both have increased in England, the difference between the financial capacity of the two Kingdoms is to-day considerably greater than it was in the year to which our figures refer. But let us take the figures as Mr. Crammond states them, and we shall soon see that Scotland yearly parts with a great deal

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more than is her just and proper proportion. The following table should make this clear :—

		Gross amount actually paid.		Amount proper to be paid.
	<i>per cent.</i>		<i>per cent.</i>	
England & Wales,	83.17	£183,535,000	84.1	£185,580,525
Scotland, ...	11.21	£24,742,000	9.8	£21,626,317
Ireland, ...	5.62	£12,389,500	6.1	£13,460,656

I have dwelt the more on the financial relations between the Three Kingdoms in order to emphasise the more (1) the disadvantages Scotland now labours under in this respect and has always laboured under, and (2) our country's perfect ability to pay her own way were she so situated politically as to have control of her own financial affairs. The late Mr. Charles Waddie proved that in the course of the thirty years that passed between 1861 and 1891, Scotland lost £92,648,319 as a direct result of the plundering process to which she is subjected under the terms of the Union of 1707! He computed also that during the same period our country lost £39,000,000—money which was her just due and which she should have received for expenditure in Scotland. The total national loss for the period named was, accordingly, £131,684,319!

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In setting any Federal system on foot, the greatest difficulty to be surmounted will be found to consist, I imagine, in devising just means and ways to supply and maintain the common Treasury. Unless the Treasury is kept well and regularly supplied with money it is obvious that the Imperial Council would experience great difficulty in discharging its functions, and in

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carrying on the business entrusted to it. Now, there are two ways of keeping the Imperial Treasury well supplied with the necessary funds, of which the first consists in setting aside for that express purpose money raised by means of taxation devoted to that particular object. However small the amount actually realised in this manner, the Council would not be entitled, under this plan, to a farthing more than the estimated yield, and should it yield more than the estimated yield, the contributing States, on the other hand, would not be allowed a penny of rebate. This is the plan which presently finds favour with the German Empire, the United States, America, the Swiss, South Africa, and Canada. Its principal drawback is that it renders the mediatory power (*i.e.*, the Council) entirely independent of the contributing States. Further, the same plan is not a little apt to generate heats and jealousies between the Council and the heads of the various States. For, when the Council's income is too small to meet the expenses of the duties charged upon it, it must needs seek the assistance of the governors of the contributing States; and though on many occasions this is freely and cheerfully rendered, yet experience has shown that on not a few the help applied for has not been given save under the stress of threats, and not without a deal of mutual bickering.

The second, and, I think, the better plan, is for each of the States comprising the Federal system to bind itself to contribute to the common Treasury its own proper proportion, which should be based on its populousness and the measure of its national wealth, each State being at liberty to raise the agreed-on quota

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in whatever way, and by whatever means, it thinks best. In fine, provided the money is forthcoming, this method countenances no questions being asked as to the means employed to raise it. The principal fault of this device is that it tends to render those who have the spending of the money somewhat indifferent touching the manner in which it is got. It is a maxim whose soundness is generally acknowledged that those charged with the expenditure of public funds should not be dissociated from the responsibility attaching to the raising of it. And though that opinion is just and reasonable enough, yet on occasions it is politic as it is convenient that the spending and collecting faculties should be separated. I think then, all things considered, that the second of the two ways I have glanced at is the best of all those that the ingenuity of political man has yet devised with a view to a just solution of the difficulty of financing a Federal System. On the face of it, it seems eminently fair and reasonable that each of the States embracing a Federal System should contribute to its upkeep according to its populousness and its national wealth.

Not long ago a certain well-known Englishman wrote as follows:—"It is obvious that a Federal System on the lines proposed in the Irish and Scottish Bills would ultimately mean the complete separation of the finances of each Kingdom." Of course it would! That is the very kind of separation that every Scotsman, every Irishman, and every Welshman expects and desires. We want full control over our respective financial affairs, not even that famous "last shilling"

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escaping us. With anything short of that measure of perfect control, we should not be masters of our own houses, and Federalism under any other conditions would be to us a delusion, a sham, and a snare. As I have said more than once, the man that holds the purse calls the tune.

Respecting the number of representatives that each State should have on the Imperial Council, the friends of England maintain that that representation should be regulated according to each State's proportion to the common Treasury, under which, were affairs so arranged, it must be allowed that Ireland would fare very badly. I have no right to speak for that country in this connection, but this I will say, that if Ireland's proportion should cut but a somewhat sorry figure, whose fault is that? Without a doubt, the blame in this respect rests on England. Long before, and ever since, the plaguey Union was brought on the carpet, England's game was, and has been, to cripple Irish trade and industrial development, and to drive her people overseas. But no one can have the front to charge it on Scotland that, under a Federal System, she would not be able to pay her proper proportion. We have already seen that she at present not only pays more than she should do, but a great deal more than her just proportion; and for that reason, if we except all others, fairly is she entitled to be well represented on the Council. Neither do I think that the various nations comprising the Federal Union would fall out with one another regarding the amount of their respective proportions. In this regard, the States of the Canadian Union are in full harmony

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with one another, and the same is the case with respect to Australia, South Africa, and indeed wherever the federal system obtains. Would it be more difficult for these Kingdoms than for others to arrange their affairs in an amicable fashion on this basis? For my part I refuse to believe that it would.

Some people appear to entertain fears that, considering the size and wealth of England, that country's Parliament would attempt to usurp on the Union Council, and that, sooner or later, there would arise grievous quarrels and dangerous jealousies from this source. The danger of which I speak was very present to Mr. Winston Churchill's imagination when he spoke as follows at Dundee in 1912:—

There would be no difficulty in applying the Federal System to Scotland and Wales, but when they came to England a very real difficulty arose. England was so very great and populous that an English Parliament, whatever its functions or limitations might be, could not fail in the nature of things to be almost as powerful as the Imperial Parliament, side by side with which it would have to live; and if there were, as there very easily might be, a divergence of policy and feeling between the English Parliament and the Imperial Parliament, the quarrel between these two tremendously powerful bodies might tear the State in half, and bring great evils upon all.

Mr. Churchill went on to say that the one remedy for an ill of the kind he glanced at was to federalise England, and to allow the various divisions of that country to manage their own domestic affairs. This is a sensible way of looking at the matter, and for my part I have nothing but praise for it. But Mr. Churchill did not stop at his suggested solution—"I am not at all disturbed (he continued) by the prospect of seeing

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erected in this country ten or twelve separate legislative bodies discharging the functions entrusted to them by the Imperial Parliament." From these words we are at liberty to conclude that Mr. Churchill's idea is that each of the district or provincial English legislatures should possess as high a status and as much power as the national legislatures of Scotland and Ireland. Here indeed is a speaking illustration of the craft and cunning of the Saxon. He is always "out" to divert other people's waters to his own mill-wheel. But on this occasion he can spare himself the trouble. Well do we know how to disappoint his schemes. The district or provincial English legislatures would be under the control of the English High Parliament—not under that of the Union Council—just as the similar bodies in Scotland and Ireland would be subject to the supreme authority of the High Parliaments of those countries. Where is the use of trying to make flesh of one and fish of the other? If justice and fair-dealing are our principal regards, let us place England in one scale and Ireland, Scotland, and Wales (if she is agreeable to it) in the other, in order to keep the balance true. If this be done, we may safely lay aside our fears that quarrels would be likely to arise between these two tremendously powerful bodies (*i.e.* the English High-Parliament and the Union Council) that might have the effect of tearing the State in half, and bringing great evils upon all. . . .

In conclusion, it behoves England to take good heed what she does in this matter. If she uses us fairly we will use her equally so, and meet her on all grounds in a handsome and friendly spirit and manner.

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But on no account will we suffer her to play us false, or to stretch covetous hands towards our Treasury. Should she try to play any of her tricks on us, that same instant would the music scream through the fiddle. I wager she would not find taking the twist out of Scotland the easy game she found bubbling Mr. John Redmond and his supporters to be. Often has it been charged upon us that, as a nation, we are fond of the sixpence. Without a doubt, so we are; and the Saxon would soon get painful evidence of the power of our affections in that respect were he impolitic enough to try to lay hands on our money. Nothing would be easier than to stir our people to wrath in face of any imprudent attempt of the sort I glance at. I warn the English people that if they use us not well in this particular of adjusting financial arrangements, we shall repudiate that mountain of debt which, by a political fiction, is styled *National*—a debt which *they* have piled up to its existing monstrous proportions, whether or not *we* were agreeable to the accumulation of this barbarous load of extravagant charges. But if, on the other hand, they use us well, and deal fairly by us, we, on our parts, will meet them in a not less generous spirit—even to the extent of treating with them as regards this unprofitable matter of the so-called “National” Debt.



International Conference.

Scottish National Protest.

Societies and Clubs of all kinds are cordially invited to subscribe the Protest. Adhesions of this kind should be endorsed by the responsible Officers of such Societies and Clubs.

The following is published by way of guide to Societies desirous to adhere to the principles laid down in the Protest. It is one of many such, but a better form could not be adopted.

ASSOCIATED IRONMOULDERS OF SCOTLAND.

Registered Office:—

221 WEST GEORGE STREET,
GLASGOW, 6th June, 1917.

DEAR SIR,

NATIONAL PROTEST.

Your favour of the 30th ulto., along with enclosures received, was placed before a meeting of the Executive Council of this Association. I was directed to —

- (1) Protest against the exclusion of Scotland, which, notwithstanding any pretended Act to the contrary, is now, as she ever was, a Sovereign State, and, as such, has an infeasible right to send her own representatives to any International Congress.
- (2) Protest against the pretended right of England to appear and speak in name, and on behalf, of Scotland at any International Congress.

On behalf of this Executive Council,

I am, yours faithfully,

JOHN BROWN, *General Secretary.*

Individual Scots desirous to adhere, and otherwise to identify themselves with the National Protest, are invited to write to

The Hon. R. ERSKINE OF MARE,

The Forest of Birse Lodge,

Aboyne, Scotland.